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ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

CONTENTS AND INDEX VOLUME XI

PUBLISHED BY
THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILL.

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ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XI

JULY, 1928

NUMBER 1

Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society
28 NORTH FRANKLIN STREET, CHICAGO

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILL.

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Illinois Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME XI

JULY, 1928

NUMBER 1

ARCHBISHOP PETER RICHARD KENRICK AND THE VATICAN COUNCIL

FOREWORD

The following article by our collaborator, the Rev. John Rothensteiner, will form three chapters of the forthcoming History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis. Father Rothensteiner has devoted more than three years of intensive research work and composition to this, the first general account of the origin and the development of the church in the Mississippi Valley. The reverend historian has worked up a vast amount of historical material on a really original plan, which enabled him to maintain unity and diversity. The history will comprise at least one thousand pages; and will probably be bound in two volumes. The date set for publication is some time in December.

THE EDITOR.

Among the heroic prelates that laid the Church's foundation deep and strong in the virgin soil of America, the great Archbishop of St. Louis, Peter Richard Kenrick, must be numbered as one of the greatest and best. He stands in line with John Carroll of Baltimore, John England of Charleston, John Hughes of New York, and his own brother, Francis Patrick of Philadelphia and Baltimore. At one time he held spiritual authority over the churches in Missouri, Arkansas, western Illinois and the Indian Territory as far as the Rocky Mountains. Personally he was gifted with keen intellect and tenacious memory, singular power of leadership and organization, unstudied eloquence, and deep piety. In the Councils of the American Church he

stood as the intellectual leader, *primus inter pares*. In the vast extent of his diocese and archdiocese, the imprint of his personal character is noticeable everywhere. Any act of such a man should, therefore, command respectful attention, especially if that act be of such universal importance and interest as that proposed in our present theme: Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick and the Vatican Council.

I. ARCHBISHOP KENRICK VISITS ROME

The close of the year 1866, November 30, marked an epoch in Archbishop Kenrick's life. On that very day, the Feast of St. Andrew, twenty-five years ago, he had received episcopal consecration in Philadelphia at the hands of the sainted Bishop Rosati of St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick wished to spend this memorial day in quiet contemplation without any public manifestations as are usual on such occasions. But the German Catholics of the city expressed their loyalty by a grand torchlight procession; and the Archbishop accepted the ovation with meek submission and gentle patience.

Twenty-five years of constant labor and self-sacrifice had merited for him a vacation. The Eternal City was his goal. The occasion was the Eighteen Hundredth Anniversary of the Martyrdom of St. Peter, which was to be celebrated in Rome in 1867. A large part of the Catholic episcopacy of the world was expected to attend the festivities.

On May 27, 1867, Archbishop Kenrick, accompanied by Father Patrick J. Ryan, then pastor of the Annunciation Church, left St. Louis for Cape Girardeau whence after the ordination of nine priests, they proceeded to Boston, and there took the Steamer *Asia* on June 5, en route for Rome. They landed in Ireland, and, after a brief stay, journeyed to Rome, where they were received with high honors. There they attended the celebration that had called them to Rome. In union with the assembled prelates, the Archbishop signed the solemn protest against the spoliation of the Holy See by the Italian revolutionists, and a declaration that the temporal power of the Pope was necessary for the freedom of the Church. Passing through Italy, Germany and France, the Archbishop returned to Dublin, where he spent delightful days of rest amid the familiar scenes of his early life. It was in his native Dublin that he uttered from the pulpit the touching testimonial of his love for his native land: "Ireland differs from other nations in this, that whilst these have given martyrs to the Church, she is the martyr-nation of the world."

¹ Father Patrick J. Ryan in the course of time became Coadjutor to the Archbishop of St. Louis and Archbishop of Philadelphia.

On June 16, 1868, the Archbishop and his companion landed in New York and on June 23 arrived in St. Louis. He was met by a delegation of priests and laymen, who escorted him to his residence near St. John's Church. On the following Sunday a public reception was held in honor of the Archbishop's return. The procession was nearly three miles long. His Grace received the greetings of his episcopal city standing on the doorstep of his house. Mr. R. A. Bakewell delivered the address of welcome; and the Archbishop responded briefly.

During the Archbishop's absence the Vicar General of the Archdiocese, Father Melcher, had exercised the functions of government, and the Bishop of Alton, Damien Henry Juncker, had administered the sacrament of Holy Orders to four candidates for the ministry, among them the future Vicar General of the Archdiocese Father Hoog. On July 12 the Archbishop consecrated Joseph Melcher Bishop of Green Bay, Wisconsin. This solemn function took place at St. Mary's Church.

Fathers Patrick J. Ryan and Henry Muehlsiepen were now appointed Vicars General, and Father Charles Ziegler succeeded to the office of Secretary. Vicar General Ryan became pastor of St. John's Church in place of Father Ring.

On September 12 the Archbishop consecrated his old friend John Joseph Hogan Bishop of St. Joseph, Missouri.

The year 1869 brought to the Archbishop the old round of duties; cornerstone-layings, church dedications, ordinations, services and sermons in his pro-cathedral of St. John. In the meantime events of great moment were unfolding themselves in the Church Universal. On July 3, 1868, His Holiness Pope Pius IX had issued the call to the Bishops of the Catholic World for an ecumenical Council, to assemble at the Vatican Basilica on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1869. A little later a very fatherly invitation went out from the Pope to the separated brethren of the Eastern schismatic churches and to the Protestant Christians throughout the world. It was the first ecumenical Council within four hundred years since the great Council of Trent. Since those early days of protestant storm and stress, a saddening change had come over Christendom. The spirit of protest against some of the tenets of the Church had at last resulted in the spirit of absolute negation of all revealed truth. Indeed, the Catholic Church, and she alone, had remained firm in the joyful profession of all the sacred truths once delivered to the saints. And now the church was girding herself to take up the gage of spir-

itual warfare, and to strike the blow that should lay low the triple head of the dragon, infidelity, heresy and schism.

Archbishop Kenrick was deeply interested in these preparations for the inevitable conflict. In his Pastoral Letter of 1865 he had taken occasion to publish the much maligned "Syllabus of the Principal Errors of our Time," adverting to its importance in the following words:

"The Holy Father has availed Himself of the publication of the Jubilee-Indulgence to condemn certain prevalent errors of our times, as also to promulgate in a collected form, condemnations of the same or similar errors, made by him since he ascended the Pontifical chair. These authoritative declarations we receive with all the reverence and respect which is due to the voice of the Vicar of Christ; recognizing in that voice our only sure and safe guidance amidst the labyrinth of human errors; as also obeying the authority of Him who speaks to us, on this occasion, through the successor of Peter, placed as was Peter to confirm his brethren." ²

Whilst, however, accepting the guidance of the Pope without reserve and without fear of consequences, Archbishop Kenrick had some misgivings in regard to the question of Papal infallibility which he felt sure, would be proposed to the deliberation of the Council. Of course, he never for a moment, doubted the infallibility of the Church in all matters of Faith and Morals. Nor did he doubt the infallibility of the Pope, when speaking as the Head of the Church in union with her members. It was this very faith that made him extol, even beyond the bounds of truth, that famous saying of St. Vincent of Lerins: "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est, id est Catholica veritas," as if these words could also be applied in a negative way: quod non semper, quod non ubique, quod non ab omnibus creditum est, id non est Catholica veritas." ³ The fact is: there

² The Syllabus, sent to the Bishops of the Catholic Church by Pope Pius IX on December 8, 1864, together with the Encyclical letter, "Quanta Cura," is an authoritative condemnation in eighty propositions, of an equal number of errors of this time, ranging from pantheism to liberalism. The sixteen propositions condemned by the Encyclical *Quanta Cura* certainly fall under the judgment of Papal infallibility. As to the rest theologians are not agreed, some holding that all those condemnations are made by infallible authority; others maintaining that the negative character of the propositions leave a certain liberty of interpretation as to the dogmatic sense of each. All Catholics must hold, however, that the entire Syllabus, being an emanation from the Supreme pastoral and teaching office of the church, must be accepted by all with the submission of mind and will.

³ "What was believed always, and everywhere, and by all, that is Catholic truth," St. Vincent. "What was not always believed, nor everywhere, nor by all, that is not Catholic truth."

were before the Vatican Council, two schools of Catholic thought, one commonly designated as ultramontane, the other roughly comprised under the title of Gallican. Like the schismatic Orient, the Gallican believed in synthetic organization. The single churches being grouped together in a larger unit; the ultramontane builded constructively from the center of Unity—from Rome. "Among the native Catholics of England," wrote a keen observer of the times, "and more with the clergy probably than with the laity, there was a considerable survival of what is called Gallicanism, a sort of national pride and tendency in religion, as opposed to the other extreme known as Ultramontanism. Manning described himself as an Ultramontane, and Newman as a Gallican. Of course, there is between these two views no disagreement in faith, though one would sometimes suppose differently from the heated language occasionally indulged in by one or the other towards the opposite party." ⁴

Archbishop Kenrick's view of the Church and its Head inclined to that of the Gallicans. He, as so many another leader of thought and spokesman of the faith of his day, believed; that it was the office of the Bishop of Rome, as Supreme Pontiff, to decide controversies and condemn errors, and that such decisions and condemnations must be regarded as final and infallible, *if accepted by the Universal Church*. According to this view, the College of the Bishops, whether assembled in Council or dispersed in their sees, in union however with the Roman Pontiff, were the true seat of infallibility, but the Pope, separated from the body of the Bishops, if that were possible, did not enjoy the gift. Practically, there was no difficulty, as the Pope's decrees and decisions in matters of Faith and Morals, had always been accepted by the Church as infallible utterances. For this very reason many considered a formal decision on the matter altogether unnecessary, and in a way hurtful to the Church.

Among the Catholics of England the two great leaders of thought, Manning and Newman, both converts to the Faith, held opposite views, not on Papal infallibility itself, but on the opportuneness of its definition. "The great Archbishop of Westminster," says a contemporary writer, "was, before and during the Vatican Council, the strongest of the many strong promoters of the definition: whilst the humble son of St. Philip Neri, though ready to receive a clear definition of that doctrine, did not think it opportune at that time. His own treatise on development showed that the entire scroll of the truth had been held by the church free from injury from the very beginning,

⁴ Thomas F. Galway, *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. 31-25.

but that it was unfolded by the Church during the ages only just as fast as intellectual progress, and denials or discussions brought each several phase of the truth more and more into intimate relation with the thought or the needs of the time. Like many other Catholics whose faith was absolutely unimpeachable, he dreaded the effects that would follow, as he believed, on the definition of infallibility among the great masses of non-Catholics who did not understand the meaning of papal infallibility as held by Catholics, and would perversely persist in misunderstanding it." In 1866 he wrote that he thought "its definition inexpedient and unlikely. Manning, at this time, was quite sure of the contrary, and was fretted by the attitude of Newman and those in England who thought with Newman. Both were Catholics of sound Faith, but each placed a particular emphasis on that by which he had been drawn to the Church." ⁵

Archbishop Kenrick entertained a very high regard for both Manning and Newman, but his preference between the two was Newman. Not that the influence of Newman, in any way, warped his judgment on this or any other matter. Archbishop Kenrick was an independent thinker, and simply held the opinion he had always held since he came to man's estate, as he tells us in his "Concio Habenda sed non Habita": "Almost forty years have passed since I there (in Maynooth College) pursued the study of Theology under the learned John O'Hanlon, then lecturer in Theology, now professor of higher theological science in the same college. The treatise *De Ecclesia* by that man of venerated memory, Delahogue, one of the French emigres in the time of the great French Revolution, contained nothing on the infallibility of the Pope, except a thesis conceived in these words: "Infallibilitas Summi Pontificis non est de Fide."

"In 1831, the aforesaid lecturer on Theology, O'Hanlon, of his own accord, gave us the thesis—'The Pope, speaking *ex cathedra* is infallible,' not to convince us of it, but to give us the opportunity of becoming acquainted with this weighty opinion, by the reasons in favor of it, adduced from various quarters. I confess that I was one of those who took the affirmative. But the new and hitherto unheard of procedure did not meet the approval of all the professors, one of whom, the lecturer on Holy Scripture, who afterwards became President of the College, expressed his displeasure in pretty plain terms, to my classmate, now Bishop of Clonfert, from whom I learned the fact." ⁶

⁵ Idem, *ibidem*.

⁶ Cf. Peter Richard Kenrick, *Concio Habenda at non Habita* in *Tuside View of the Vatican Council*, p. 149.

Such reminiscences served the Archbishop as premonitions of the great struggle in which he was to figure far more prominently than he expected or desired. Yet he felt assured that all would be well with the Church. As to himself personally he had but little concern. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*,⁷ was his watchword as it had been that of Newman.

But the time had now arrived when he must start for the Eternal City. In view of his protracted attendance at the Council he appointed Vicar General Ryan as administrator of the Archdiocese with Vicar General Muehlsiepen in charge of the German and Bohemian parishes. The date of this double appointment was October 8, 1869. The Archbishop landed in Ireland. In Dublin in November he was joined by Father Constantine Smith, whom he had chosen as his secretary and theologian. Journeying to Paris, he spent three weeks, visiting the various places of interest in that renowned capital. "One day," writes Father Smith, "the Archbishop had just recounted to me the history of the various treasures of the sacristy of Notre Dame, and as we re-entered the Cathedral, I saw standing looking towards its pulpit an ecclesiastic of imposing figure and striking countenance. Archbishop Manning stood before us. The two prelates saluted and spoke to each other for a few moments. They dined a few evenings after together. Thus chance brought about the meeting of the two prelates who were destined to exercise, each in his way, a most decided influence on the deliberations of the Vatican Council."⁸

Archbishop Connolly of Halifax, and Father Hecker, the founder of the Paulists, joined Archbishop Kenrick on the journey from Paris to the Holy City. On their way they visited the Cathedral of Strassburg and spent a few days in Munich. They then entered Tyrol, crossed the Brenner Pass, and followed the Eisack and the Adige rivers into the Trentino. As they passed the historic town of Trent, they gazed upon the church in which the most renowned Council of the Church's history had been held four hundred years previous. Shortly afterwards, the travelers emerged from the narrow defiles of the valley and entered the plains of Lombardy. They passed through Florence and in the morning of December 1, arrived in Rome. Apartments in one of the ancient palaces were assigned to the Archbishop and his Secretary.

"One week after our arrival," wrote Father Smith, "on the

⁷ It was Wiseman's quotation of St. Augustine's word, "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*," which has been interpreted to mean "Catholic consent is the safe judge of controversy," that finally decided Newman's conversion.

⁸ The Catholic Standard and Times, Philadelphia, March 21, 1896.

morning of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1869, amid salvos of artillery from the castle of St. Angelo and the pealing of bells and the play of fountains in the great square of St. Peter's, descended the *scala regia* in rich pontificals, the Bishops of the Catholic world, called to take part in the deliberations of the Vatican Council. Along the Grand Vestibule, at either end of which is an equestrian statue of Constantine and Charlemagne, and on through the great doors of St. Peter's the procession moved. Up an Avenue through St. Peter's, formed by two lines of soldiers of the Antibe Legion, it proceeded till it reached the confessional, or high altar, where it turned to the right and entered the council chamber. At this door I left the side of the Archbishop and was conducted to a seat in one of the loggias. Solemn Pontifical Mass commenced. At the farther end of the chamber sat Pío Nono upon his throne, having his Cardinals seated on each side of him in the form of wings. Immediately before and facing him sat the Patriarchs. Further on to his right, on ascending tiers the archbishops and bishops were arranged according to seniority. I noticed that my Archbishop ranked that day the seventh oldest in the world. When the ceremonies of the Mass were completed, the Pope rose and in a tone of voice of marvelous clearness and almost preternatural power intoned the "Te Deum." The thousand assembled prelates took it up, the joyous wave of sound swelled beyond the enclosure of the Aula and re-echoed back from more than 100,000 human voices, and reverberating through the vast edifice died away in the great dome. The Vatican Council was opened."⁹

II. ARCHBISHOP KENRICK'S PART IN THE COUNCIL

The Vatican Council was, even from the historical point of view, one of the greatest events of the Ninetenth Century. The number of prelates from all parts of the globe assembled in Rome, about nine hundred, was far greater than that of any previous Council of the Church. The Pope, as spiritual ruler of the Church Universal, was still the temporal Sovereign of Rome and the surrounding territory called the Patrimony of St. Peter. All the magnificence of pomp and ceremony with which the greatest artistic force of the world was able to produce was thrown around the wonderful gathering. The mystical Orient and the rationalistic Occident were looking on with rapt interest and expectation. The statesmen of Europe, Bismarck, Gladstone, Napoleon III, Prince Hohenlohe, the leaders in historical science, Doellinger, Lord Acton, Maret, Dupanloup and a host of oth-

⁹ *Idem*, *ibidem*.

ers were calling the world's attention to the prospects of the historic assembly, for good or for evil, according to the position of the observers. The meeting place was the right transept of the mightiest Cathedral of Christendom, specially fitted up for the occasion. The Pope himself presided at the public sessions, whilst the General Congregations were conducted by one of the five Cardinals appointed for the purpose by the Holy Father. The subject matter to be submitted to the Fathers of the Council had been previously prepared by a special commission of learned theologians and canonists from various nations. It was arranged under four heads:

- I. Concerning Faith.
- II. Concerning Discipline.
- III. Concerning Regular Orders.
- IV. Concerning Oriental Rites.

The first section, concerning Faith, was subdivided into three schemata:

- I. On Catholic Doctrine.
- II. On the Church, and its Head, and its Relation to Civil Society.
- III. On Matrimony.

By order of the Pope four standing committees or deputations of twenty-four members each, were formed, all except the presiding Cardinal, elected by the Council. These deputations were to receive all the objections and emendations the Fathers thought proper to make in regard to the various schemata submitted to them in printed form, with the Pope's declaration that they were "*nulla nostra approbatione munita*," that they were, therefore, subject to discussion. The Holy Father stated at the same time, that the Fathers of the Council were at liberty to propose any new matter that was of real benefit to the Church.

The order of proceeding as defined by His Holiness was as follows: The Fathers of the Council were to examine each schema, and then submit their criticisms and emendations, to the deputation that had charge of the particular matter. The deputation was then to examine the remarks of the Bishops and decide whether they were pertinent and acceptable or not. One of the delegation then was to refer the matter to the General Congregation, which was almost daily in session; and it was the privilege of each member of the Council to express his opinion on the matter or form of the proposed schema. When completed the Constitution, as it was then called, was to be sub-

mitted to the vote of the assembled Fathers and then announced to the world by the Holy Father himself.¹⁰

The first public session of the Council was held on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1869, for the purpose of organization. In the second public session, which was held on the Feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1870, the Holy Father first made the solemn Profession of Faith, and then the Fathers of the Council, after hearing the profession of Faith read to them, approached the papal throne, and each took the oath on the Gospels; "Ego, N. N. Episcopus N. N. spondeo, voveo et iuro iuxta formulam praelectam. Sic me Deus adjuvet et haec Sancta Dei Evangelia."

The real work of the Council was done in the General Congregations, the first one of which was held on December 10, 1869, under the presidency of Cardinal de Luca. There were present six hundred and seventy-nine Fathers. Of English speaking Bishops Manning, Spaulding, Leahy and Alemany, of Germans and Austrians Simor, Ledochowski, Senestrey, Gasser and Bishop Martin of Paderborn were members of the standing Committee or Congregation that had charge of Matters on Catholic Faith.

The Schema on Catholic Doctrine was up for discussion. Cardinal Rauscher of Vienna made the first address and was followed by Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis. The archbishop spoke briefly and to the point, saying that the schema did not meet his approval, as it was too lengthy, and as its form deviated from that of counciliar decrees. He would advise that a selection of these chapters be made for discussion which seemed most necessary, and that the deputation on matters of Faith then elaborate an exposition of the Faith and submit it to the Council for approval.¹¹

The discussions on the Schema concerning Catholic Doctrine as opposed to the principal errors of the times, being finished in the Forty-Sixth Congregation, the Third Public Session of the Council was called for April 24, 1870. About four and one-half months had been consumed in accomplishing such a small part of the matter proposed to the Council. Immediately after the solemn promulgation of the *Constitutio Dogmatica De Fide Catholica*, a large number of the Fathers were permitted to leave for home. Some had been excused from further attendance on the sessions of the Council two months previous, among them the American Bishops Melcher, Hogan,

¹⁰ The Acts and Decrees of the Vatican Council fill volume VII of the great *Collectio Lacensis*.

¹¹ Archbishop Kenrick had taken the same stand on a similar occasion at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore.

Lamy, Feehan and O'Gorman. These prelates received leave to return to their dioceses on account of the urgent wants of their new ecclesiastical districts.

On March 6, 1870, Archbishop Kenrick directed a letter from Rome to his faithful friend, Vicar General Muehlsiepen, in which he gave expression to his feeling of weariness and dissatisfaction:

"Most of us are very tired of Rome, and would willingly leave it. The Council has been now three months in session, and nothing has been done. The body is too big for work, unless divided into sections; and those who had the management of matters were, and are, unwilling to attend to the suggestions made to them by those who had experience in similar assemblies. Should you ever come across an article which appeared in the *Moniteur* of Paris, about three weeks ago, you will find a detailed and realistic account of what has been the character of our proceedings and the cause of their insuccess.

"The regulations first made have been found insufficient, new ones have been promulgated; with what results remains to be seen. They appear to many, among whom I count myself, to be highly objectionable, and scarcely reconcilable with the liberty a Council should have. Their immediate effect is to suspend our ordinary general congregations, of which we have had three or four every week. In the last twelve days we have had none; and it is said that two or three weeks more may elapse before we be again summoned to meet.

The Council appears to have been convoked for the special purpose of defining the Papal Infallibility and enacting the propositions of the Syllabus as general laws of the Church. Both objects are deemed by a minority, of which I am one, inexpedient and dangerous, and are sure to meet with serious resistance. The minds of both parties are considerably excited; and there is every reason to fear, that the Council, instead of uniting with the Church those already separated from it, will cause divisions among ourselves most detrimental to Catholic interests. Let us pray that the Providence of God may overrule the passions of men."¹²

The next subject to be treated by the Council was the Schema De Ecclesia. This Schema, in its original form, treated (1) of the Church as the Living Body of Christ, (2) of the Pope as the Head of the Church, (3) of the relations existing between the Church and Civil Society. But in accordance with Archbishop Kenrick's suggestion, though not in consequence of it, the Presiding Cardinals substituted that part of the matter which seemed most important to

¹² Original in Archdiocesan Chancery of St. Louis.

them, and to many Fathers of the Council as early as Christmas day, 1869, the Archbishop of Malines had made use of his privilege to call for the immediate treatment of the Supreme Power in the Church.

The doctrine of Papal Infallibility is clearly announced in the Archbishop's proposal, though the word itself is not used. In the meantime Archbishop Manning was busy getting the signatures of some four hundred Fathers of the Council to a petition for the dogmatic decision on the Infallibility of the Pope. This petition was sent to the Presiding Cardinal on January 28, 1870, to be submitted to His Holiness. The petition had its intended effect. Instead of the original Schema De Ecclesia Christi, the *Constitutio Prima De Ecclesia Christi*, containing a brief introduction and three chapters on the Primacy of the Supreme Pontiff and a fourth chapter on His Infallibility was introduced.¹³

It seems now that the storm which had been raging around the Council Chamber raised a serious disturbance among the Fathers in Council assembled. There was a comparatively small, but very able and tireless minority, whose members opposed the definition of the Infallibility of the Pope, who, however, were held together, not on a fixed principle of accord, but by an agreement to defeat, if possible, the majority of the so-called infallibilists.

To analyze the constituent parts of this body we shall, with Cardinal Gibbons, class them according to ideas.

"The first class comprised those, who, believing the doctrine themselves, or at least, favoring it speculatively, did not think it capable of definition, not deeming the tradition of the Church clear enough on this point.

"A second class, the most numerous, regarded the definition as possible, but practically fraught with peril to the Church, as impeding conversions, as exasperating to governments. For the sake of peace, and for the good of souls, they would not see it proclaimed as of faith.

¹³ Before the opening of the Vatican Council Archbishop Kenrick's stand on Papal Infallibility was substantially that of his brother, the Archbishop of Baltimore: "That way of speaking is not approved, according to which the Pope is declared to be infallible of himself alone; for scarcely any Catholic theologian is known to have claimed for him as a private teacher the privilege of inerrancy. Neither as Pope is he alone, since to him teaching, the college of bishops gives its adhesion, which, it is plain, has always happened. But no orthodox writer would deny that pontifical definitions accepted by the college of bishops, whether in council or in their sees, either by subscribing decrees, or by offering no objection to them, have full force and infallible authority." *Theologia Dogmatica, quam concinnavit Franciscus Patricius Kenrick*, Vol. I, p. 241, 242.

"All of these dissident prelates," adds the gentle Cardinal, the last survivor of the Council, "acted with conscientious conviction of the justice of the cause they defended. They were bound in conscience to declare their opinions, and to make them prevail by all lawful influence. If on one side or the other of this most important and vital question, they went beyond the limits of moderation, or used means not dictated by prudence or charity, it is nothing more than might have been expected in so large a number of persons, of such varied character and education." ¹⁴

Our own Archbishop Kenrick was a member of this party, and in particular, one of the first class, as described by the Cardinal, favoring Papal Infallibility speculatively, as a theological opinion, but one not capable of definition."

We, the Church's children of a later day, for whom the clear, concise and comprehensive definition of the Vatican Council has removed all doubt, and most difficulties, may wonder, how a churchman of Archbishop Kenrick's undoubted loyalty, genuine piety and strict orthodoxy could stand up before the assembled Bishops of the world, to oppose the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility; for oppose it he did, though not to the point of absolute denial. Archbishop Kenrick was too strong and outspoken a character to fear the possible effects of a truth, when he was convinced that it was a truth. He cannot, therefore, be called a mere opportunist, as some would have him considered. He held that the doctrine was not as yet sufficiently clear, nor firmly established in the consciousness of the Church to merit a dogmatic definition. In this sense he might have been called an inopportunist. On listening, however, to the arguments of the opposition leaders, a number of whom were really great and good men, and himself revolving in his mind the numerous historical facts that seemed to contradict the opinion of the doctrine's defenders, an honest doubt arose in his mind, whether the Pope could judge securely and infallibly, unless he acted in union with the Universal Church, of which the Bishops were divinely appointed spokesmen.¹⁵

¹⁴ Life of Cardinal Gibbons, by Allen Sinclair Will, Vol. I, p. 126.

¹⁵ On the title page of his *Concio* Archbishop Kenrick quoted the words of Sacred Scripture, "O Timothee, depositum custodi, devitans profanas vocum novitates et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae, quam quidam promittentes circa fidem exciderunt. I Tim., 6-20, 21, intimating thus that the doctrine of Papal Infallibility did not belong to the depositum fidei. By adding the dictum of Paschasius Radbertus, "Not upon Peter alone, but upon all the apostles and successors of the apostles was the Church of God founded," Lib. VIII, in Matt. 16, he intimated that the entire college of Bishops, with the Pope as the head, was the true seat of infallibility.

Of course there never was the least doubt in the Archbishop's mind, that infallibility was present in an ecumenical Council, where the Head and the Members, the Pope and the Bishops, concurred in rendering a decision on Faith or Morals. Nor did he ever doubt, that, if the Pope spoke as Head of the Church, even without the Concurrence of the Bishops, his decision was infallible, if the Bishops of the world accepted it within reasonable time. "*Roma locuta, causa finita.*" All this the great Archbishop saw as plainly as any one. But what he does not seem to have seen for a time was that the Pope's decisions must be infallible in themselves or, as the Council expressed it, "*ex sese, non ex consensu Ecclesiae irreformabiles.*" Yet such is the fact. For if the Pope could err in official decisions on Faith or Morals, whilst the Bishops of the Church, either in Council assembled, or dispersed throughout the world, faithfully held to the truth, the seamless garment of the Church would be rent asunder, the unity of faith would be lost.

The debate on the Fourth Chapter of the First Constitution on the Church, which treats of the Pope's Infallibility was begun immediately after the third public session. A very large number of the Fathers announced their intention to address the Council on the question. Archbishop Kenrick at first intended to maintain silence, as he took for granted anything pertinent to the subject would be more fully and forcibly said by others." But as Archbishop Cullen of Dublin, a member of the deputation on matters of Faith, had from the pulpit said some things in which the American Prelate's honor was sorely wounded, he felt obliged to answer his charges, and, as he was not permitted to reply at once, he joined the long series of the Fathers who had asked and received permission to make an address at the proper time. This happened in the Fifty-fifth General Conference, May 20.

Archbishop Kenrick attended the long succession of the Congregations or meetings of the Council and listened attentively to the exhaustive and often exhausting streams of eloquence for and against the matter proposed. Cardinal Gibbons, then only Bishop Gibbons, describes him in a few choice words in his "*Retrospect of Fifty Years.*" "Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis was among the most noteworthy prelates from the United States. Archbishop Kenrick spoke Latin with most admirable ease and elegance. I observed him, day after day, reclining in his seat with half-closed eyes, listening attentively to the debates, without taking any notes. And yet so tenacious was his memory that, when his turn came to ascend the rostrum, he

reviewed the speeches of his colleagues with remarkable fidelity and precision without the aid of manuscript or memoranda." ¹⁶

The meetings were held during the hours between 9 and 12 in the morning. The afternoons and evenings were free, for rest, study and social calls. Archbishop Kenrick's secretary, Father Constantine Smith, has left us a fine description of what occupied the minds of the opposition members of the Council.

"Frequent meetings of various shades of opinion as to the opportuneness or the inopportuneness of the definition of the Papal Infallibility were now held outside the Council chamber. Effectually, Rome was divided into two camps. For three months, the greatest intellectual men of the Church were almost equally divided against each other.

Manning, the consummate ecclesiastical statesman, rather than the profound theologian, in virtue of his great eloquence, controlled in a masterful way the forces of the infallibilists. With him were the Bishops of Malines, Ratisbonne and Paderborn. The chief among the French opponents were Dupanloup and Darboy; also Cardinal Mathieu and Bonnechose. The chief Austrian opponents were Cardinals Schwarzenberg and Rauscher and Bishop Strossmayer. Bishop Hefele headed the German opposition. Archbishop Kenrick stood at the head of the opponents belonging to the American episcopate. But there was one man, not attending the Council, not a Cardinal, not a Bishop, who wielded among English-speaking peoples an influence more potent, though silent, against the definition of the dogma of the infallibility than any other, viz., John Henry Newman, afterwards created a Cardinal.

After three months of debate, during which period, the intellectual forces were equally divided, after the intellectual opponents had exhausted every lawful method of debate, every resource that could be devised; after every argument, philosophical, scriptural, social, moral, civil, had been exhausted in trying to defeat or even postpone the definition, on this 13th of July the contest ended, the most memorable that had ever taken place in the annals of ecclesiastical history. It was well. Both sides acknowledged that no more could be done; God alone could decide it. Up to this for His own wise ends, God permitted the full play of human reason, often swayed by deepest feeling. But now the Divine illumination came." ¹⁷

But before this final act, Archbishop Kenrick took a step that was to bring upon him the harsh judgment of many Catholics and the

¹⁶ Cardinal Gibbons, *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, vol. I, p. 32.

¹⁷ *The Catholic Standard and Times*, Philadelphia, March 21, 1896.

still more disagreeable plaudits of the sectaries and so-called liberals, without accomplishing the least practical result. One hundred and eleven Fathers had announced their intention to address the Council: Forty-six had spoken by the beginning of July. Sixty-five names were still on the list. Dark war-clouds had arisen on the horizon; if the question of Papal Infallibility were not acted upon within a short time, the whole matter would have to rest in abeyance. The honor of the Church required that the center of unity, the Divine institution of the Papacy, should not receive such a terrible setback. The vast majority of Fathers was in favor of the definition of the infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff. The members of the opposition were using dilatory tactics. In the Eighty-second Congregation held July 4, the Presiding Cardinal suggested that the Fathers who were still booked to speak, should renounce their right. All the orators, excepting two, acquiesced. There were four hundred and sixty-nine Fathers present at this Congregation. Archbishop Kenrick was not present and thereby lost his right to speak. But he was determined to bring his views to the knowledge of the Fathers of the Council. He sent his Secretary, Father Smith, to Naples to supervise the publication of his pamphlet entitled, "*Concio Petri Ricardi Kenrick, Archiepiscopi S. Ludovici in Statibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis in Concilio Vaticano Habenda at non Habita, Naples, 1870.*"¹⁸ This publication was intended for the Fathers only, but to be circulated outside the Council chamber. It was in substance a belated attempt to refute the strictures, Archbishop Cullen of Dublin and Archbishop Manning of Westminster had made on his objections to the Schema on the Church of Christ.

In his *Concio* Archbishop Kenrick speaks in the highest terms of admiration of these two great churchmen: "It was with great delight that I listened to the recent speech of the Archbishop of Westminster in this assembly. I was at a loss which most to admire, the eloquence of the man, or his fiery zeal in moving or rather commanding us to enact the new definition. The lucid arrangement of topics, the absolute felicity of diction, the singular grace of elocution and the supreme authority and candor of mind which was resplendent in his speech almost extorted from me the exclamation: '*Talis cum sis, utinam nosster esses.*'"

Archbishop Kenrick's *Concio* is not so much an attack upon the Pope's Infallibility, as rather a defense of the infallibility of the Bishop's united with the Pope. It has become one of the rarest of

¹⁸ Cf. Granderath, S. J., *Geschichte des Vatikanische Konzils*, vol. III, ch. 10, pp. 288-292.

books: however, it is reprinted in Professor Friederich's *Documenta and Illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum*. The American Tract Society published an English translation, edited by Leonard Woolsey Bacon.

The decisive moment came on July 13. The Eighty-fifth general Congregation, which was attended by six hundred and one Conciliar Fathers, four hundred and fifty-one voted, *Placet*; eighty-three, *Non placet*, and sixty-two: *Placet Juxta modum*. The question had been decided by an overwhelming majority; the minority realized that their cause, so bravely and skillfully defended, was lost: but not convinced of the opposite view, they decided to absent themselves from the final public session on July 18. By order of the Pope, the Secretary read the *Constitutio Dogmatica Prima De Ecclesia Christi*, and then invited the Fathers to give their vote, either *Placet* or *Non-Placet*. All but two voted, *Placet*; and these two immediately after the definition gave in their adhesion.¹⁹

The Holy Father then rose and confirmed the Constitution with his supreme authority, and addressed a few touching words to the assembled Fathers: "The highest authority of the Roman Pontiff does not oppress but erect, does not destroy but builds up, and frequently confirms in dignity, unites in charity and strengthens and supports the rights of the Bishops. Therefore, those who now judge in a state of commotion, should know that a few years hence, they who once held the contrary judgment will abound in our judgment, and then they will judge "in spiritu aurae lenis."²⁰ How beautifully these prophetic words of Pio Nono were fulfilled in the case of Archbishop Kenrick, we shall see in the following chapter.

III. ARCHBISHOP KENRICK'S SUBMISSION TO THE VATICAN DECREES

After the promulgation of the infallible teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff in the Fourth open session of the Council the participants received permission to absent themselves until November 11, on which day the discussion of the remaining schemata should be taken up. The work of the deputations, however, was to continue throughout the summer months. But it appeared before long that this plan could not be carried out. On July 19 the war between Germany and France broke out, and at the withdrawal of the French garrison

¹⁹Only two Bishops voted *Non Placet*, one of them was Bishop Fitzgerald of Little Rock. But both Bishops immediately accepted the dogma, Bishop Fitzgerald saying to the Pope: "Now I believe, Most Holy Father."

²⁰Granderath, vol. III, p. 500.

from Rome, the troops of Victor Emmanuel took possession of the Eternal City. Under these circumstances the Pope, on October 20, suspended the sessions of the Council.

Archbishop Kenrick had left Rome with the other members of the minority, sad at heart and undecided as to what his future course should be. There were some men of honored name who tried to draw him into open rebellion against what had now been declared a dogma of Faith. But those who knew that Archbishop Kenrick never failed to make his daily meditation, had no fear for him in this regard. Such a man of prayer would not follow in the footsteps of a Doellinger or a Reinkens. Yet the future looked black and perplexing.

On his homeward journey this spiritual conflict was carried to the proper conclusion. The cause for which he had fought during the Council was, after all, only a part of the truth: the infallibility of the Bishops in union with the Pope. According to the decision of the Council where Pope and Bishops had acted in unison, the full truth was the infallibility of the Pope, not only when speaking by advice or consent of the episcopate, but always when speaking ex cathedra, and defining a doctrine of Faith or Morals for the universal church. Practically the Archbishop had always held this to be true, though not satisfied with the reasons put forward to prove it. But the Council had spoken; and the Catholic world had, to all appearances, accepted the decision as final. Most of the opponents had submitted to the decision. As for the objections he had urged against the doctrine, and which he still considered true, he had to admit they were not conclusive, and hence, as mere difficulties, he should not allow them to raise a single doubt in his mind, now that the Council had spoken. The dogma, no matter by what means it was brought to a passage, was clearly a truth of Divine revelation.

This course of reasoning is but the interpretation of the Archbishop's own words, addressed to Lord Acton: "Sufficient time seems to have elapsed to allow the Catholic world to decide whether or not the decrees of the Council were to be accepted. The greater number of Bishops in minority had signified their assent to them. Among other names published in one of the Brussels papers, I read with surprise that of Mgr. Maret. Although some still held out, they were so few that hesitating to declare my submission would have had the appearance of rejecting the authority of the Church. **THIS I NEVER INTENDED TO DO.** I could not defend the Council or its action; but I always professed that the acceptance of either by the Church would supply its deficiency. I accordingly made up my mind to sub-

mit to what appeared inevitable, unless I were prepared to separate myself, at least in the judgment of most Catholics, from the Church.''²¹

The Archbishop arrived in St. Louis on December 31, 1870, after an absence of more than fourteen months. His return was quiet and unobtrusive, as he had declined a public reception. Yet an ecclesiastical reception was arranged for the following Sunday. It was held at St. John's Church, and all the bells of the Catholic Churches of the city were rung in honor of the occasion. An address was read by the Vicar General, Very Rev. P. J. Ryan, in St. John's Church, in the presence of many of the secular and regular clergy of the diocese. The Archbishop responded feelingly, saying: "To that portion of the address which refers to my course in the Vatican Council, I have this to say: Up to the very period of that Council I had held as a theological opinion what that Council has decreed to be an article of Christian Faith, and yet I was opposed, most strongly, to the definition. I knew that the misconceptions of its real character would be an obstacle in the way of the diffusion of Catholic truth. At least I thought so. I feared in certain parts of Europe, especially, that such a definition might lead to the danger of schism in the church; and on more closely examining the question itself, in its intrinsic evidence, I was not convinced of the conclusiveness of the arguments by which it was sustained, or of its compatibility with certain well ascertained facts of ecclesiastical history which rose up strongly before my mind. These were the motives of my opposition. The motive of my submission is simply and singly the authority of the Catholic Church. That submission is a most reasonable obedience, because of the necessity of obeying and following an authority established by God; and having the guaranty of our Divine Savior's perpetual assistance is in itself evidence, and cannot be gainsayed by any one who professes to recognize Jesus Christ as his Savior and his God.

Simply and singly on that authority I yield obedience and full and unreserved submission to the definition concerning the character of which there can be no doubt as emanating from the Council and subsequently accepted by the greater part even of those who were in the minority on that occasion. In yielding this submission, I say to the Church in the words of Peter and of Paul, "To whom, O Holy Mother, shall we go, but to thee? Thou hast the words of eternal life;

²¹ The letter of Archbishop Kenrick to Lord Acton was first published in Prof. Schulte's *Der Altkatholizismus*, Giessen, 1887. It was republished in the St. Louis daily papers on March 29, 1891.

and we have believed and have known that Thou art the Pillar and the Ground of Truth." ²²

Some theologians found fault with the phrase, "*simply and singly* on the authority of the Church I yield obedience and unreserved submission to the definition," as if the Archbishop meant only an exterior act without an interior conviction. This was a rank injustice, as implying that he, for the sake of being left in place, consented to say what he did not believe. As Archbishop Ryan wrote in his brief Memorial on the death of his friend: "Submission to a doctrine means believing it, and without such faith submission were hypocrisy, of which no man ever dared to accuse the departed prelate." ²³ The writer then goes on to prove the Archbishop's absolute sincerity by quoting the introductory words of his address on the occasion of his homecoming: "Up to the very period of the assembling of the Council I had held as a theological opinion what that council had decreed to be an *article of Christian Faith*." ²⁴ But how did the Archbishop surmount the historical difficulties that seemed to stand in the way of his sincerely accepting the truth of the definition. Let us consider his own explanation:

"I reconciled myself intellectually to submission by applying Father Newman's theory of development to the case in point. The pontifical authority, as at present exercised, is so different from what it is supposed to have been in the early Church, that it can only be supposed in substance by allowing a process of doctrinal development. This principle removed Newman's great difficulty, and convinced him that, notwithstanding the difference, he might and should become a Catholic. I thought that it might justify me in remaining one. The positive arguments supplied by tradition for the power as actually exercised are not stronger than those brought forward by the advocates of papal infallibility; nor is it easier to reconcile the Acts of the Fifth Council in reference to Vigilius with the one, than the condemnation of Honorius by the Sixth with the other." ²⁵ And again:

²² Cf. The Two Archbishops Kenrick, by John J. O'Shea, pp. 332 and 333. O'Shea's sketch of Peter Richard Kenrick is a poorly written compilation, but contains a number of important documents.

²³ American Catholic Quarterly Review, vol. XXI, p. 427.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 428.

²⁵ Letter to Lord Aeton. Concerning Pope Vigilius, who approved the Acts of the Fifth Council, condemning the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, after he had refused to attend the sessions of the Council. Pope Honorius was condemned by the Sixth Council for a letter he was supposed to have written to Sergius on the two operations in Christ, not defining the question, but counselling silence. In both cases the question of Papal Infallibility was supposed to have been denied. But the case of Vigilius militated against the infallibility of

"I submitted most *unreservedly*, not availing myself of any of the ingenious explications of the dogma, set forth by Mr. Maskell, but taking the words of the decree in their strict and literal significance." ²⁶

But how shall we reconcile these clearcut statements with the following words from the same letter: "I gave as the motive of my submission "Simply and singly" the authority of the Church by which I was well understood to mean that the act was one of pure obedience, and was not grounded on the removal of my motives of opposition to the decree as referred to in my reply, and set forth in my pamphlets." ²⁷

In order to understand the full import of this declaration, we must make a distinction. There is a difference between the motives of Catholic Faith, and the motives of credibility of a doctrine. The motive of faith can be but one, the revelation of God made known to us by the infallible authority of the Church. The motives of credibility are many and manifold, some appealing to one, some to another mind; the motive of faith refers to the revealed truths, the motives of credibility to the fact of revelation; the motive of faith produces absolute certitude, the motives of credibility only moral certitude. Now, in Archbishop Kenrick's pamphlets published at the time of the Council, the motives of credibility advanced by his opponents in favor of papal infallibility were attacked as either insufficient or utterly worthless. But the promulgation of the infallible teaching authority of the Pope by the Council furnished an all-sufficient motive of credibility as well as the true and only motive of Christian faith: "It is revealed doctrine."

In one particular, and that a very important one, the Archbishop candidly admits having made a mistake in his argument. "My statement, to which your Lordship refers, that Papal Infallibility could not become an article of faith even by the definition of the Council resolves itself into two others; namely that what is not already a doctrine of faith cannot be made so by a conciliar definition, and that papal infallibility, anterior to the definition, was not an article of faith. The first of these propositions is undeniable. The second, it appears, must be given up. My proof of the second was incomplete, as it chiefly referred to countries where the English language is spoken. Even in regard to these countries it does not appear to be

the Council as much as the case of Honorius did against the infallibility of the Pope. The fact is that neither case had anything to do with an *ex cathedra* pronouncement.

²⁶ Letter to Lord Acton.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

satisfactory, as the principles recognized by the ecclesiastical authorities, in such countries, and generally entertained by the faithful in them, appear to establish the contrary. The power of the Pope in doctrinal matters was universally recognized as a rule of faith; nor was this principle materially affected by the tacit assent of the Church, which even Gallican divines, held to be sufficient to give his decision all the weight of conciliar definitions.”²⁸

Whether the Archbishop was right in rejecting all and sundry motives of credibility urged by his opponents is not the question here. He may have been mistaken and, in some cases, certainly was mistaken; but the removal of his motive of opposition to the decrees, as set forth in his pamphlets, was not required to enable him to make a sincere and genuine act of faith in the decrees after their approval.

Archbishop Kenrick's letter to Lord Acton does sound one discordant note, in saying: “Notwithstanding my submission, I shall never teach the doctrine of papal infallibility, so as to assure from Scripture or tradition in its support, and shall leave to others to explain its compatibility with the facts of ecclesiastical history, to which I referred in my reply. As long as I may be permitted to remain in my present station, I shall confine myself to administrative functions, which I can do the more easily without attracting observation, as for some years back I have seldom preached.”

“I have steadfastly refused to publish a Pastoral Letter on the Council, although urged thereto by one of my suffragans, by the Archbishop of San Francisco and indirectly, through the suffragan bishop referred to, by Cardinal Barnabo. I have also declined to write to the Pope, although the last named (Barnabo), in sending me some marriage dispensations for which I had asked, invited me to do so. I have also refused to take any part in the demonstrations which have been made generally in the United States in favor of the Temporal Power, and my name is not found among those which, in this city, prepared and sent to Rome an address to the Pope on the occasion of the Italian occupation of his territory.”²⁹ I mention these circumstances to show your Lordship that in what I have done I have

²⁸ Letter to Lord Acton. Strictly speaking not an article of faith, but belonging to the deposit of Faith.

²⁹ On June 25, 1871, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the elevation of Pope Pius IX to chair of St. Peter was celebrated in the city of St. Louis with imposing ceremonies. There was a parade of Catholic societies four miles in length and a general illumination of the city at night. Bonfires and pyrotechnic displays were also features of the demonstration of loyalty to the Holy Father. The Archbishop was not in the city on that day.

not been actuated by any desire to stand well with the Church authorities in Rome." ³⁰

These last signs of Archbishop Kenrick's irritation do not refer to the dogma of papal infallibility, but rather to the manner in which it was secured. For he plainly states that he accepted the dogma unreservedly, "simply and singly on the authority of the Church." But how could he preach on the doctrine without touching "on the *motiva credibilitatis*?" And these he did not consider to be convincing. For the same reason, a Pastoral on the Council seemed out of question. As for writing to the Pope or protesting against the spoliation of Rome by the Italians, the Archbishop thought he had no particular reason, especially as his doing so, would have been interpreted by many as a measure inspired by fear. He felt that he had done no more than was his right and duty in the matter, and that he had no apology to offer. We can understand the Archbishop's feelings under such trying circumstances. Yet it would have seemed more consonant with the greatness of his mind if he had, like Fénélon, the Archbishop of Cambrai, under similar circumstances, immediately ascended the pulpit to condemn his pamphlets and throw them into the fire; but the intense and almost unbearable strain of his conciliar activities had seriously reduced his vitality and rendered his nerves all too sensitive. But there was a special occasion for the regrettable outbreak.

Archbishop Kenrick's letter to Lord Acton is dated March 29, 1871. More than two months previous he had written his letter of submission to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, Barnabo'. So all requirements seemed fulfilled to place or rather leave Archbishop Kenrick in good standing with the Head of the Church. Only the *Concio* published in Naples in the heat of combat, seemed to threaten a new storm. The pamphlet had been submitted to the Congregation of the Index, and had been condemned as containing grave errors, but through personal consideration had not appeared among the list of prohibited works. Cardinal De Angelis exhorted Kenrick to anticipate its public condemnation by adhering strictly to the decrees of the Council. Pope Pius himself is reported to have said to the Rector of the American College when he announced to him the Archbishop's submission: "Still he must retract those pamphlets published at Naples." ³¹ If the Pope really said this, he certainly made no great effort to obtain this retraction. But the rumors were irritating. The Pamphlets did not get on the Index of Forbidden Books

³⁰ Letter to Lord Acton.

³¹ Letter to Lord Acton.

and their author was never again reminded of them. Pope Pius was later on reported to have said: "Mgr. Kendrick is a great man, but he is as pious as he is great, and he is as orthodox as he is pious and great."³² And till later, Pope Leo XIII, according to the account of Cardinal Gibbons, uttered this beautiful and in the main just judgment on Archbishop Kenrick:

"The metropolitan of St. Louis was a noble man and a true Christian Bishop. When he sat in Council as a judge of the Faith, he did according to his conscience, and the moment the decision was taken, although it was against him, submitted with filial piety of a Catholic Christian."³³

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³² Cardinal Gibbons *Retrospect of Fifty Years*, vol. I, p. 32.

³³ A. C. Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons*, vol. I, p. 129.

THE MARTYRS OF THE SOUTHWEST¹

I

As we draw back the curtain that conceals the past in the history of the great Southwest, a grand panoramic view presents itself, rivalling in its heroic splendor and chivalry the deeds of the soldiers of the Cross in those cruel and sanguinary scenes in the Christian persecutions by the Roman imperial tyrants.

Hardly had Coronado finished his explorations and discoveries, when human holocausts were offered to sanctify the soil where once the missionaries had labored. Of the five friars who accompanied the expedition, three remained in New Mexico and soon merited their crowns of martyrdom. Padres Juan de Padilla, Luis de Escalona and Juan de la Cruz were these pioneer soldiers of Christ who attempted the conversion of the savage tribes. They were the first priests to preach the Gospel to the natives in the Southwest. Padilla was an Andalusian, who had been guardian at Tulancingo and Zapotlan. His ardent missionary spirit had for its objective the Christianizing of the Quivirans. An escort was furnished the padres as far as Cicuye, where Fray Luis de Escalona remained. Fray Padilla pressed on to Quivira, accompanied by a Portugese named Campo, a negro, a mestizo, and a few Mexican Indians. We learn later that Campo and his companions hurried back to the gulf coast and reported that Padre Padilla had died a martyr at the hands of the Quivirans, who killed him because in his zeal he wished for and attempted the conversions of some hostile tribes.

Juan Jamarillo, one of the captains of the Coronado expedition, states that he had left with Padre Luis de Escalona at Cicuye, a slave boy named Cristobal, and another slave, Melchor Perez, several Indians, one of them a Tarascan named Andres, and two negroes, one named Sebastian, a servant of Jamarillo. Subsequently some sheep were sent to Padre Luis and the messengers on their return reported that he had been well received by the masses of the natives, though

¹ In *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. IX, pp. 134-150, there is a contribution by J. J. Ryan entitled "*The Franciscan Missions of California*," in which the author shows the self-sacrifice and zeal of the missionaries in the far west. It is the purpose here to present a similar story, brilliant in events and achievements of the padres in New Mexico and Texas. It is hoped that there will soon appear by the facile pen of some historian an account of the apostolic labors of the Jesuits.

the older men hated him, and would probably bring about his death. It is recorded by the chroniclers that he later merited the grace of martyrdom.

Fray Juan de la Cruz spread the Gospel in the province of the Tiguex and had as his companion, a lay brother Luis de Ubeda. Records show that the priest was shot, but that the life of Ubeda was spared. The latter lived as a hermit in a hut and performed many good deeds. Beaumont in his chronicles represents Fray Marcos de Niza and Fray Daniel as having returned with Coronado's army into Mexico.²

Many years elapsed before another *entrada* was attempted. In 1581 Father Augustin Rodriguez was led by his zeal as a missionary, and the desire for martyrdom to undertake an expedition. He applied to the Viceroy Coruña for a license to enter New Mexico. An escort of twenty men was to be provided, but only about one-half of that number could be induced to accompany the friars. The two other Franciscans, who were assigned by the provincial superior to this new field, were the Padres Juan de Santa Maria and Francisco Lopez. On the 6th of June, 1581, the party was ready for its journey north. They left San Bartholome, set out for the Conchos river, and followed it until they reached the Rio Grande. They continued their march to a point along that river and named the place San Felipe, arriving there some time in August. Finally, after much traveling, they reached Puaray in the Tiguas province, and here established their headquarters. The friars remained at this spot, but Chamuscado, the military commander, continued his explorations.

When the soldiers returned, they found the padres already laboring in their new field. The missionaries did not object to the departure of their escort for Mexico. Three southern Indians, whose Christian names were Andres, Francisco and Geronimo, were left behind as interpreters. Francisco later made his appearance at San Bartholome and reported that Padre Lopez, the guardian of the friars, had

² Jamarillo, Juan: *Relacion que dio*. In *Pachco, Doc.* xiv, pp. 316-317; see also *Florida Col. Doc.* p. 154; see also Ternaux-Compans, Henri: *Voyages, Relations and Memoires*, 1st series, 364. Torquemada, Juan: *Monarquia Indiana*, III, 610-612; Mendieta, Geronimo: *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, pp. 742-745; Velancurt, Augustin: *Menologia Franciscano*, pp. 121-122; Gomara, Francisco Lopez: *Historia General de las Indias*, p. 274; Beaumont, Pablo: *Cronica de la Provincia de Michoacan*, iv, pp. 378-386; Mota Padilla, Matias: *Historia de la Conquista de N. Galicia*, pp. 167-169; De Courcey, Henry: *The Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 14; Bancroft, Hubert Howe: *Arizona and New Mexico (1530-1888)*, p. 14; Casteñeda, Pedro: *Relation du Voyage de Cibola, 1540* (in Terneaux-Compans 1st ser., ix); Engelhardt, Zephyrin: *The Franciscans in Arizona* (see chapter I for defense of Fray Marcos de Niza).

been killed by the natives. In the tumult that followed, the three Indians escaped. Lopez was slain about a league from the pueblo, and his body was brought to the town for burial. His remains were disinterred in 1614 and reburied in the church at Sandia.

Salmeron states that the padres soon discovered that they needed missionary re-enforcement if they wished to carry on successfully the work of the Gospel among these Indian tribes. Santa Maria volunteered to go to Mexico to present the matter before the proper authorities. He had just crossed the Sandia mountains, and stopped to rest under a tree at San Pablo in the Tiguas province. He was discovered by natives, who killed him and burned his remains.

Father Rodriguez was now alone, but even the protection of the Tiguas chief, who removed him to Santiago, a league and a half up the river, did not save his life. Like his confreres he was ruthlessly murdered by the Indians, and his body thrown into the river.

The Franciscans of Nueva Viscaya were very much troubled when they received the reports of the fates of the padres, and Father Bernardino Beltran was eager to verify the accounts about the martyred friars. A new *entrada* was organized with Antonio Espejo as commander. In due time, after many days' traveling, the party arrived at Puaray, where they learned from the natives that both Padres Lopez and Rodriguez met their deaths as already related, and that those who were their attendants were not spared, but were likewise killed in cold blood. Following in the footsteps of Padre Santa Maria, they also ascertained the terrible facts of the cruel and heartless slaughter of that holy man of God, as he rested, tired and footsore, on his lonesome journey south. Padre Beltran, saddened in his soul, began his mournful and weary travel back over the borderland to his convent in San Bartholome.

Espejo, with this lone friar and a few soldiers, had accomplished more than Coronado with his grand army and barbarous oppression of the unoffending natives. By wandering peacefully from province to province, taking notes as he went along, Espejo gathered important details, which he modestly and accurately recorded in his *Relations*, and thereby rekindled the interest and enterprise of the Spaniards in the vast northern wilderness.³

³ Pacheco and Cardenas: *Col. Doc. Ined.*, xv pp. 80-150, 162-189. See Bolton, Herbert Eugene, editor and tr.: *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*. Title: *Testimonio dado en Mejico, anos 1582-1583*. Sub-titles: *Declaration of Bustamente*, Pacheco, op. cit. 80-8. *Declaration of Hernando Barrado*, Pacheco, op. cit. 95-7; *Brief and True Account of the Exploration of New Mexico*, op. cit. 146-150; *Report of the Viceroy to the King*, Pacheco, op. cit. 97-100; *Account of Journey to the Provinces and Settlements of New Mexico*—Narrative

Another expedition, after many delays, was arranged by Juan Oñate. The obstacles to the leadership of this new *entrada* were occasioned by the efforts of many other impressarios to obtain licenses for the conquest and government of the new country, which seemed to offer to them great opportunities because of the wealth of its products. Only the persistence, resourcefulness, and patience of Oñate secured for him finally the legal right by contract to start northward with an army of one hundred and thirty soldier-colonists. These were followed soon afterwards by Padre Alonzo Martinez and ten Franciscans. On the 20th of April, 1597, they reached the Rio Grande, and on the last day of the month, a few leagues up the river on the western bank, Oñate with full ecclesiastical solemnity, took formal possession for God, the king, and himself, of New Mexico and the adjoining provinces. This dedication was pronounced in the presence of the friars and all the army. The religious ceremony included Mass offered in a chapel specially built for the occasion. A sermon was preached by Padre Martinez, the *comisario*.⁴

From August 23 to September 7, the time was spent in erecting a church at San Juan de los Caballeros, and on the 8th, the place of worship was opened with great ceremonies. On the 9th, a mass meeting was held, at which many native chiefs and representatives of the pueblos were present. Here all made a formal submission to

of Espejo Pacheco, op. cit. 101-126 and 163-189. All of these documents are translated by Bolton. Bancroft, Hubert Howe: *New Mexico and Arizona*, p. 79; Hakluyt's *Voyages*, III, pp. 383, 380-8; Salmeron, Geronimo de Zarate: *Relaciones de New Mexico*—In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3rd Ser. IV, pp. 8-10; Davis, W. W. H.: *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, pp. 243-49; Prince L. Bradford: *Historical Sketches of New Mexico*, pp. 149-152; Niel Juan: *Apuntamientos*—In *Doc Hist. Mex.*, 3rd Ser., IV, pp. 87-88.

⁴ Original sources for Oñate expedition are to be found in Pacheco and Cardenas *Documentos Ineditos*, xvi, pp. 38-66, 88-141, 228-322. Titles are as follows: (a) *Translada de la Posesion*, pp. 78-141; See also Villagra, Gaspar: *Historia de Nueva Mexico*, pp. 114-132; (b) *Discurso de las Jornadas*, pp. 228-276; (c) *Copia de Carta Escrita al Virrey*, 1599, pp. 212-22; (d) *Don Alonso de Oñate al Presidente del Consejo de Indias*, pp. 320-322; (f) *Memorial sobre el descubrimiento de Nueva Mexico*, pp. 188-227; (g) *Discurso y Proposicion*, pp. 38-66. The following transcripts of originals in Archivo General de Indias are to be found in the Lowery Collection of the Library of Congress, and in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago: (a) *Relacion de Como los Padres de San Francisco se encargaron de las Provincias de la Nuevo Mexico* 1598; (b) *Relation que envio Don Juan de Oñate* 1599; (c) *Relacion sacada*; (d) *Relacion Verdadera*; (e) *Paracer de la Audiencia*. See also Salmeron: *Relaciones* (in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, 3rd Se., see paragraphs 33-57). Translation by Charles F. Lummis: *Land of Sunshine*, vols. xi and xii. See also Torquemada, Juan: *Monarchia Indiana*, Vol. I, book 5, chaps. 36-40. See also Bolton's translations of many of the documents cited in his *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*. Bancroft: *New Mexico and Arizona*.

Almighty God in things temporal through the king by Oñate, and in matters spiritual through the Pope by the padre *comisario* Martinez. All expressed great joy in receiving the friars as their teachers and masters. Padre Martinez then proceeded to apportion the pueblos among his co-workers. Under the care of Fr. Francisco de San Miguel, the province of Pecos was placed. Fr. Juan Claros received as his obedience, the province of the Tigues; Fr. Juan de Rosas, the province of the Cheres; Fr. Cristobal de Salazar, the province of the Tepúas; Fr. Francisco de Zamora, the province of the Pecuries; Fr. Alonzo de Lugo, the province of the Emmes (Hemes); and Fr. Andres Corchado, the province of the Trias. In all, it is said that about one hundred and seventy pueblos were included, although this number may be somewhat exaggerated, caused by the confusion of the names of the tribes with that of places.

The missionary prospects were so prosperous that early in March Padres Martinez, Salazar and Vergera went south to obtain reinforcements of friars. Salazar died on the way. Martinez was retained in Mexico, but Padre Juan de Escolano was sent in his place as *comisario*. He was accompanied by Vergere and about eight other friars.

The work of evangelization was now fairly under way. By the year 1617 the friars had built eleven chambers, converted fourteen thousand natives and prepared an equal number for conversion. In 1620 Padre Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron, filled with zeal for souls, offered his services in the missionary field. He took up his abode among the Jemes, where for eight years he "sacrificed himself to the Lord among the pagans."

The fruits of his labors were manifold, for he baptized six thousand five hundred and sixty-six natives, mastered their language, and wrote for them a *doctrina*. In 1621 the various missions contained over sixteen thousand converts, and these results necessitated the formation of a *custodia*, known by the name of the Conversion de San Pablo. Padre Alonso Benevides was the first *custos* to occupy this important post. He brought with him from his convent twenty-six friars. Death, sickness and hardship soon thinned these ranks, for in 1626 only sixteen friars and three laymen were left in the field. The labors and sacrifices of the missionaries were bearing abundant fruit in this soil sanctified by the blood of these early martyrs. According to Salmeron and Benevides, over thirty-four thousand had been baptized, and forty-three churches had been built.

The lack of a sufficient number of co-laborers was reported to the viceroy and to the *comisario general* of the order. In the *cedula* of November 15, 1627, the king ordered that thirty more Franciscans be

sent to New Mexico. This reinforcement was supplied with padres from the *Provincia del Santo Evangelio* in Mexico.⁵

"At Chilili, the chief pueblo of the Tampiros," writes Shea, "Father Juan de Salas founded a mission which soon had six churches and residences. His zeal extended beyond the limits of that nation. Hearing of the Jumanos, a tribe similar in mode of life to the tribes already known, whose pueblo lay east of the mesa, still bearing their name, the missionary about 1623 endeavored to bear the light of the Gospel to them. To his surprise he found the Jumanos familiar with Christian Doctrine, and they declared that they had been instructed by a woman. Her attire, as they described it, was that of a nun, and the missionary showed them a picture of Sister Louisa Carrion, a religious in Spain highly esteemed for her sanctity. The Indians declared that the dress was the same, but the lady who visited them was younger and more handsome. When Father Benavides subsequently returned to Spain, he heard of Sister Maria de Agreda, and at her convent learned that she had in ecstasy visited New Mexico and instructed the Indians there. In 1629 he resolved to found a mission among these interesting people, and sent Fathers Perea and Lopez to take up their residence at the great pueblo of the Jumano nation which he dedicated to St. Isidore, Archbishop." The chief pueblo spoken of here, in all probability, is thought by some persons to be *La Gran Quivira*.⁶

Father Benavides, in his *Memorial*, states how these two padres were filled with wonder and surprise when they saw the Jumano Indians approach them bearing two crosses. They removed their own crucifixes, and everyone came forward and devoutly kissed the image of the crucified Christ, and they also pressed their lips to the medal of the Infant Jesus which the padres wore. It is said that the num-

⁵ *Memorial sobre el descubrimiento de Nuevo Mexico*—In Pacheco, Doc., xvi, pp. 188-227; Villagra, Gaspar: *Historia de la Nueva Mexico: Obediencia y Vasallaje a sa Magestad por lo indios* (see *Translado de la posesion*, pp. 108-117); in Pacheco, Doc., xvi., 88-141; Salmeron, Geronimo de Zarate: *Relaciones de N. Mexico*; Benavides, Alfonso: *Memorial*; *ibid.*: *Requete remonstrative au Roy d'Espangne sur la conversion du Nouveau Mexico*; Bonilla, Antonio: *Apuntes sobre Nuevo Mexico*; Calle, Juan Diaz: *Memorial y Nolicias Sacras*; Vetancurt, Augustin: *Chronica de la Prov. del Sto. Evangelio de Mexico*; *ibid.*: *Menologio Franciscano*.

⁶ Shea, John Gilmary: *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*; *ibid.*: *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. I; *ibid.*: *History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States*; Perea, Estevan de: *Verdadera Relacion de la Grandiosa Conversion que ha auido en el Nuevo Mexico*; Posadas, Celonso: *Informe*;—In Duro, Fernandez: *Don Diego de Penalosola*. (See also Schmidt, Edmond, J. P.: *Ven. Maria Jesus de Agreda*): *A Correction*; Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Assoc., vol. I, pp. 121-123.

ber of Indians present on this occasion was over ten thousand persons. Father Juan de Salas, the first missionary to the Jumano nation, was there also to witness this solemn spectacle. He preached to them the truths of Christianity, and at the end of his sermon he asked them if they all desired baptism. To test their earnestness for the acceptance of the Catholic Faith, they were asked to hold up their hands. The scene that met his eyes, when they all responded, deeply touched this apostolic missionary, so that he spent several days instructing them in doctrine and in prayer. The chieftain, as the padres were about to depart, sought supernatural aid for the sick, and many miraculous cures took place as a result of the blessings bestowed by these holy men of God. Again Fathers Juan de Salas and Ortego visited the Jumano nation in 1632, and found them very favorably disposed to accept Christianity.

In 1630, Father Benavides was sent by the *comisario general* to Spain to lay before the king the consoling results of the missions and to urge upon him the necessity of forming a bishopric in New Mexico, for the reason that distance and lack of communication with the episcopal authorities were insurmountable barriers for the exercise of competent jurisdiction. No prelate was authorized to administer the rites of Confirmation, nor had the power been delegated to anyone. He showed to the sovereign that at that time there were about fifty friars taking care of the spiritual interests of over sixty thousand Christianized natives. These were scattered in ninety or more pueblos, grouped in twenty-five missions, or *conventos*, as they were called. Each pueblo was supplied with its own church.

While in Spain, Benavides investigated the supernatural visits of Venerable Maria of Agreda, and learned from the lips of the saintly abbess herself that she had been transported in spirit to the Jumano nation by the heavenly host of angels to preach the Gospel to that people. The contemporary writers of the period are of one accord that this saintly nun, in an ecstatic state visited Texas and New Mexico,* and instructed the Indians as early as 1620.⁷

⁷ Op. cit. supra (5).

* Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton, in endeavoring to fix the home of this nation, states: "The history of the Jumano before 1650 it is not my purpose to discuss, but for the sake of clearness, it may be briefly summarized. The tribe was first seen by Cabeza de Vaca in 1535 on the Rio Grande near the junction of the Conchos River, a place known as La Junta (the junction); in 1582 they were found in the same place by Espejo; in 1598 they were receiving religious instruction in eastern New Mexico; for several years before 1629 they visited Fray Juan de Salas at Isleta, asking him to go and live among them; in response to this request, Father Salas, in the year named, visited the tribe more than one hundred and twelve leagues to the eastward of Santa Fe; in 1632, they were

Fathers Letrado and Arvide also toiled among the Jumanos, and later at Zuni, the former was killed by the gentile Zipias in February, 1632. Father Francisco Porras, at Moqui, was poisoned on June 28, 1633, and God was pleased to work many miracles through him.

A revolt occurred in 1644 in which the governor and many friars were killed. In 1645, in the time of Governor Arguello, about forty natives were flogged, imprisoned and hanged, because they refused to give up the Faith. During Concha's rule, about 1650, there was a plot in which Tehuas and the Apaches conspired to kill the soldiers and the friars on Thursday night of Holy Week, when all would be at church, but by chance the whole treacherous scheme was discovered by Captain Vaca, so that a great catastrophe was thereby averted.⁸

In 1659, Father Garcia de San Francisco de Zuniga with two other priests came to El Paso to begin the difficult work of converting the Indian tribes of the vicinity, who seemed more intractable and unmanageable than any with whom the padres had hitherto had experience. The missionaries, in the face of all these obstacles and discouragements, were undaunted in their resolve to plant Christianity there.

Finally, after nine years of arduous labor, impressing civilization and the Catholic religion on the natives, the building of the church of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe was undertaken. A *presidio* was built near El Paso for the sake of protection from hostile tribes, and it was consolidated with the Mission Gaudalupe, so that the padres themselves would also be free from the attacks of the savages.

The Apaches were, perhaps, the most troublesome of the Indian nations living near the Rio Grande. In 1672 they raided six pueblos, and in these encounters, several of the friars lost their lives. Again in 1675, many natives had to be thrown into prison for they had killed several missionaries and other Spaniards. In 1676 the condition of affairs was reported to be even more serious. It must be remembered

again visited by Father Salas in the buffalo plains on a stream which the Spaniards called the Nueces." (The Humano Indians, 1650-1771, by Herbert E. Bolton in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 15, pp. 68-69.)

⁸ Calle, Juan Diaz: *Memorial y Noticias Sacras*, p. 103; Pino, Pedro B.: *Noticias Historicas*, p. 2; *ibid.*: *Exposicion Sacinto*, p. 5; Barreiro, Antonio: *Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico*, pp. 5-6; Allegre, F. X.: *Historia de la compania de Jesus*, vol. I, p. 327; Ilzarbe, Joaquin: *Informe del P. Provincial* (See Pinart Collection); Bonilla, Antonio: *Apuntes sobre N. Mexico*;—*In N. Mexico Cedula*.

that the defensive force was only five men for each frontier station, and these were very sadly in need of arms and horses.⁹

Father Francisco Ayeta, the *custos*, sought to improve the conditions of the missionaries by providing a wagon train of supplies. He also made an earnest appeal to the royal treasury for fifty soldiers and a thousand horses to accompany the train. The expenses of providing for the missions in a material way amounted to fourteen thousand seven hundred pesos. The viceroy referred these financial considerations to the king, who approved of the entire proposal, and gave his royal assent on June 18, 1678, five days after it had been presented. A series of delays prevented the supply train from leaving the city of Mexico until the last day of September, 1679.

In the meantime, one of the most terrible Indian conspiracies, enflaming the passions and hatred of the Indians, was incited, and the massacres that followed immediately on the first outbreak of hostility began the war of extermination. What a frightful scene of tragedy and desolation here presented itself as the fugitive settlers and missionaries hastened eastward and outhward to Isleta and El Paso, pursued by the savage horde of natives, thirsty for the blood of the Spaniards. The relief of Padre Ayeta came too late to prevent the abandonment of the provinces, but the supplies did furnish protection and encouragement at a time when disaster seemed most certain, and when death, in the form of myriads of hideous and grim savages, hovered near these temporary havens of safety.

One of the leading instigators of this Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was Popé, who influenced the various tribes to unite to annihilate the Spaniards. The arrogance of the soldiers, colonists and secular authorities in contrast with the peaceful and persuasive efforts used by the missionaries in settling difficulties, was chiefly responsible for the catastrophe that followed. The treatment of the natives by the soldiers cannot be characterized as other than cruel and inhuman.

⁹ White, Owen: *Out of the Desert, the Historical Romance of El Paso*; Chapter I; Medina, Baltasar: *Cronica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de Mexico*; Benavides, Alonso: *Memorial* (See Lummis: *Land of Sunshine*, vol. 13, pp. 281); Vetancurt, Augustin: *Menologio Franciscano*, pp. 24, 429; *ibid.*: *Cronica del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, p. 98; *Petition of the citizens of New Mexico to the viceroy*, August 26, 1685. *In Autos sobre los Socorros* (Bolton collection); *Auto de Fundacion de la mision de Nuestra Senora de Gaudalupe de los Mansas del Paso del Norte*; *In libro Primero de Casamientos El Paso del norte*, fol. 74-75 (See Bandelier Collection); *Auto of Otermin in Auttos tocantes*, fol. 77; *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mexico*, p. 746, (Bancroft Collection); Arlequi, Joseph: *Cronica de la Provincia de San Francisco de Zacatecas*, pp. 95-96; Ayeta, Francisco: *Carta*, Dec. 20, 1680 in *Doc.*; *ibid.*: *Memorial ad Virey*, *In New Mexico Doc.*, p. 481; Hughes, Anne: *Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District*, pp. 303-315, (*Early Missions and Settlers in the El Paso District, 1659-1680*).

These outrages were perpetrated against the king's expressed orders and the indignant protests of the padres. The aggravation of the Indians was, therefore, the more pronounced, because the pleadings of the kind and the just were of no avail in the face of obstinate, cruel and tyrannical practices of the Spaniards as a whole. When admonitions failed the Indians began to realize that only by concerted effort could they hope to shake off the shackles of their fiendish oppressors.

The date of August 13, 1680, was fixed as the day for the surprise attack everywhere. These hours of anxiety, before and after, are the most memorable ones in the annals of the Southwest. Note the grim determination of its leaders. A knotted cord was the mysterious signal used by Popé to warn his captains among the tribes. This most cunning secrecy was employed by him so that those suspected of friendship towards the Spaniards might be carefully excluded from the plot. No woman knew of the conspiracy, and Popé even killed his own son-in-law because of the suspicion of treachery. In spite of theseof these precautions taken, the Tanos of San Lazaro and San Cristobal revealed the plot to Padre Bernal, the *custos*. Padre Velasco of Pecos was advised by some of his neophytes, and the alcade of Taos sent word to the Governor. Otermin dispatched swiftly, in all directions, messengers, like so many Paul Reveres, to warn the padres and settlers to flee to Isleta.

The darkening clouds of the Indian revolt burst into the most violent storm that has ever witnessed within the limits of what now constitutes the United States. On the 10th of August, three days before the time set, the terrible onslaught in blood and fire, began. Many fugitives escaped almost destitute from their homes, and traveled on foot to Isleta. Those who tarried, were killed on the spot, or hunted down and exterminated. Twenty-one padres,* the lingering pastors of their dispersing flocks, hoped to save the remainder of their bewildered sheep, but all in vain. God rewarded their courage and their devotion to the faithful by martyrdom. No friend or foe, young or old, man or woman, was spared, except a few beautiful women and girls which they kept as captives.

* Vetancurt gives the names of the martyrs with biographical information. The list of friars is as follows: Juan de Bal, Juan Bernal, Jose Espeleta, Jose Figueroa, Juan Bautista, Juan de Jesus, Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, Lucas Maldonado, Juan Montesdeoca, Antonio Mora, Luis Morales, Juan Pedrosa, Matias Rendon, Antonio Sanchez, Augustin Santa Maria, Juan Talaban, Manuel Tinoco, Tomas Torres, Jose Trujillo, Fernando Velasco, Juan Domingo Vera. Their distribution in the pueblos has already been partly recorded earlier by the author. Those padres who survived are as follows: Jose Bonilla, Francisco Gomez de la Cadena, Andres Duran, Francisco Farfan, Nicolas Hurtado, and Juan Zavalita.

The Indians, in their blind fury, could not distinguish between the troublesome and offending soldiers and civilians, and the gentle, meek, sacrificing and kind men of God. All were slain by these same grim reapers frenzied by passion, by enmity, and by a savage thirst for blood. The number of victims of this most terrible human sacrifice and carnage was over four hundred persons. About nineteen hundred and fifty escaped, and among these latter were eleven missionaries.¹⁰

The siege of Santa Fé lasted five days. A small group of men withstood a large army of natives over three thousand strong. The church and convent of the Franciscans were burned, and all then seemed lost. The last desperate sortie by the Spaniards, on the 20th of the month, under Governor Otermin, was very successful. By imploring the assistance of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the men were strengthened in courage, and dashed into the conflict with the besiegers, whom they threw back with frightful loss. Three hundred Indians were killed and forty-five others were taken captives. These were marched to the plaza, where they were shot by the Spaniards. In this engagement, only five of the governor's men were killed, but he and several others were wounded.

The stinging defeat of the sullen natives had the effect of maddening them for retaliation and revenge. To continue in the beleaguered villa would be fatal to the Spaniards. Hence the governor gave orders to the inhabitants to move to Isleta. The exodus, consisting of the garrison, men, women and children, about one thousand persons in all among whom were three friars, Padres Cadena, Duran and Farfan, began the painful march on foot through hostile territory. Each person carried his own luggage as the horses were barely strong enough to transport the sick and the wounded.

The dismal line of march was sufficient to disturb the morale of the most brave and to test the endurance and patience of hardened

¹⁰ *Carta de Otermin a Parraga, in Auttos tocantes*, p. 31; *Carta de Ayeta al Virrey*, (Sept. 1, 1680, in *N. Mexico Doc. I*, p. 526); Bancroft, Hubert Howe: *Arizona and N. Mexico*, p. 171; *Report of Ayeta to the Junta General*, (Jan. 9, 1681) in *Auttos tocantes*, p. 107; *Proceedings of the Junta General* in *ibid.*, p. 114; Hackett, Charles Wilson: *The Retreat of the Spaniards from N. Mexico in 1680 and the Beginnings of El Paso*, in *Quarterly of Texas Hist. Assoc.*, pp. 137-168; Hughes, Anne: *Op. cit.*; Robles, Antonio: *Diario de los anos 1665 y 1703 in Doc. Hist. Mex.* 1st Ser. v. 2; Thoma, Francisco de: *Historia Popular de Nuevo Mexico*; Villagutierrez, y Sotomayor: *Historia de la Conquista*; Twitchell, Ralph Emerson: *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*; Davis, W. W. H.: *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 297; Escalante, Silvestre Velez: *Carta de 1776 in Doc. para la Historia de Mexico, Tercera serie*; Bonilla, Antonio: *Apuntes sobre el Nuevo Mexico in New Mexico Cedulae*. (Bancroft Collection).

veterans. The route, which was by Santo Domingo, presented many gruesome sights of utter desolation, ruin, and death. At that place were found the bodies of three padres cruelly murdered, and the five soldiers, placed to defend them there, met a similar fate. The pueblos of San Felipe and Sandia had been sacked and all vestiges of Christianity had been destroyed. All the grossest examples of cruelty and the vilest and most inhuman tortures were employed. Padres Jesus Morador of Jemes was taken from bed, bound on a hog's back, and with blows of the scourge goaded on amid the jeers and yells of savages, afterwards ridden and spurred, till he fell dead. At Acoma, Padres Maldonado, Figueroa and Mora were tied together, and marched naked through the streets with abuse and insult of every kind. Figueroa, in open defiance of his tormentors, predicted their own untimely deaths. This did not restrain the persecutors, who, in demoniacal fury hurled clubs and stones at these martyrs until they expired.

There is a tradition that the people of San Felipe remained faithful to Christ, and that they saved the life of the padre in a neighboring pueblo. He, in turn, miraculously saved his own flock perishing from thirst, because the water supply had failed. He prayerfully opened a vein in each arm from which water flowed in copious and satisfying streams.

It is related that Fray Alonzo Gil appeared at the window of a mission church, where the fleeing Christians had taken temporary refuge from the fearful attacks of the natives. He stood there pleading with and trying to appease the rebels, but was pierced by an arrow.

Padre Arlegui, in his *Cronica*, states that Father Gil and some Spaniards were besieged in the church at Senecu. "The priest, on appearing at the window with a crucifix in his hand in the attempt to pacify the natives, was shot in the breast with an arrow, from the effects of which he died shortly afterwards at the foot of the crucifix in the altar." (Cited from Hackett: *Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680. Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, vol. 16, p. 148.) At Quivira, of the seventy padres distributed among the Indians, only two escaped violent death at the hands of the natives. (See James H. Carlton's story in *Smithsonian Institution Report 1854*, p. 313).

At Taos the Indians, assisted by their allies, the Apaches, attacked the settlers and the missionaries and only two escaped the frightful slaughter. A similar massacre occurred at Picuris, where no one was spared. The churches in both pueblos were burnt. At

Tesuque occurred the martyrdom of Father Pio. He had started out from Santa Fé in company with a soldier, named Pedro Hidalgo, to say mass at this pueblo, but when he reached there, the natives had just deserted it and were marching towards the mountains. With speed he finally overtook the entire tribe, whom he found painted in the most hideous war colors. Approaching the band, he boldly exclaimed: "What does this mean, my children, are you crazy? Do not disquiet yourselves, for I will aid you." He then pressed forward quickly to turn back the vanguard, for he still had in mind to celebrate Mass. He was grabbed by two Indians in a bushy ravine, and they came forth later smeared and gory with his blood. Father Pio made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of religion.

At Nambe, Fray Tomas de Torres was reported among the slain, and at San Juan the martyr priest, Father Juan de Morales, gave his life in the performance of his religious duties. At Galisteo, among the Tanos Indians, the first mentioned among the several persons killed were Father Antonio and Fray Domingo de Bera; and not so far from the pueblo Fray Fernando Velasco and Fray Manuel Tinoco shared similar fates at the hands of the merciless executioners. In their wild orgies, these blood-thirsty Indians profaned everything sacred, and the apostates would tear from their own necks the rosaries they wore, and would cast them in fiendish madness into the fire. They would then massacre the faithful Christians, and burn their churches. At Pecos, the name of Fray Juan de Pedrosa was specifically mentioned as having received a martyr's crown. At Santo Domingo, the first to meet death by the actions of the infuriated mob were three padres found in the convent. They were attacked by the Indians, insulted, dragged from their retreat to the nearby church. Here all three were piled in a heap where their decaying bodies were found a few days later by the refugees from Santa Fé. A recent writer makes the following splendid commentary of this particular event: "It is doubtful if there could have been for the padres a sweeter death, a grander sepulchre, or a crown of martyrdom quite so coveted or so glorious, as that which they earned for themselves while defending the Holy Faith in the Convent of Santo Domingo on San Lorenzo day." (Cited from *Revolt of Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680*, by Charles Wilson Hackett in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, v. 15, p. 123.)

In this darkest hour, when all were suffering of hunger and want, and when munitions and horses were sorely needed as a protection and safety against their inexorable enemies, Father Ayeta's wagon train of supplies was a veritable godsend to the refugees. The camps

and the incoming hordes of fugitives would have perished, and the defense at El Paso would have been impossible, had not the padre *Comisario* placed the goods intended for the missionaries as relief for all.

But further provision was necessary in the perplexing situation that here presented itself. At the end of the year, Father Ayeta went again to Mexico City with a new petition for relief, and in this mission he was singularly successful. Missionary reinforcements and supplies were also needed. On March 20, 1681, he went to the Convent of San Francisco. Here, after a full report of the misfortunes had been related, a religious service in memory of the martyrs took place, and on this occasion, Fray Sarinana preached a most eloquent and touching sermon. Ayeta then returned to the mission field as *comisario* and still in charge of the royal interests. Again his relief and good tidings cheered the hearts of all. El Paso, near the temporary camp of San Lorenzo, was made the supply station and headquarters for the reconquest and protection of New Mexico.¹¹

In the sporadic uprisings that happened during the period of restoration and rehabilitation of the Spanish colonists, these incursions by separate tribes were many. Due to a lack of confidence, the natives of all pueblos were slow to yield, until by mild persuasion they were induced by Vargas, the governor, and the friars who ac-governed. This *entrada* ended without the loss of a drop of blood, accompanied him, to return to their allegiance, both in religion and in

¹¹ Otermin, Antonio: *Extractos de Doc. Hist. N. Mex. in N. Mexico, Doc. Hist.* 1153-1728 (a copy of MS. in Bancroft Collection); here are also to be found (pp. 514-81) important letters written by the friars at El Paso, August-December, 1680; Vetancurt, Augustin: *Cronica de la Provincias del Sto. Evangelio de Mexico*; *ibid.*: *Menologio Franciscano*, valuable for information before the revolt and on the friars who were martyred. He says the Pueblo Revolt was foretold six years in advance by a girl miraculously raised from the dead, who said it was due to prevalent lack of respect for the padres. (See *Cronica*, pp. 103-104, and *Menologia*, p. 113; Escalante Silvestre Velez: *Carta in Arch. N. Mexico*; Davis, W. H. H. *Spanish Conquest of N. Mexico*; Niel, Juan A.: *Apuntamientos*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.* 3rd. Ser. iv. pp. 103; Villagutierrez y Sotomayor: *Historia de la Conquista*; Davila, Juan G.: *Memorias Historicas*, pt. II, pp. 1 and 2; Cavo Andres: *Tres Siglos de Mexico*, II, pp. 57-60; Villaseñor y Sanchez, Jose A.: *Theatro Americano*, II, p. 419; Mange, Juan M.: *Historia de la Pimeria Alta in Doc. Hist. Mex.* 4th Series, I, p. 226; Lezaun, Juan S.: *Noticias lamentables acaecidas en la N. Mex.*, *Doc.* p. 128, et. seq.; Arricivita, J. D.: *Cronica Serafica*, p. 199; Arlegin, Jove: *Cronica de la Prov. de Zacatecas*, pp. 249-50; Siguenza y Gongora: *Mercurio Volante*, p. 589, et. seq.; Espinosa, Isidoro: *Cronica Serafica*, p. 35; Prince L. Bradford: *Historical Sketches of N. Mexico*; Davis, W. H. H.: *El Gringo*, pp. 75-80, 134-7; Domeneck, E.: *Deserts of North America*; Hackett, Charles W.; op. cit.; Hughes, Anne: op. cit.; Bancroft, Herbert Howe: *Ariz. and N. Mex.*, chap. ix, 174, et. seq.

except with the Apaches. During the submission of these rebel pueblos, the friars had baptized two thousand, two hundred and fourteen children.

There were but few Spanish settlers in the north, and Vargas therefore petitioned the viceroy to supply more soldiers and families. About eight hundred persons set out from Mexico on the 13th of October, 1693, and with these came also seventeen friars under Padre Salvador de San Antonio as *custos*. Of these colonists, on account of lack of proper preparations, thirty died on the way from hunger and exposure.

The distribution of the friars was sought by some of the tribes, but Padre San Antonio had some concern about risking the lives of his missionaries rashly and needlessly to sure death. The petition of the friars protesting was signed by Padres San Antonio, Juan Zavaleta, Francisco Corvera, Juan Alpuente, Juan Antonio del Corral, Juan Munoz de Castro, Antonio Obregon, Juan Daza, Buenaventura Contreras, Antonio Carbonel, Jose Narvaez Valverde, Diego Zeinos, Francisco de Jesus Maria Casañes, Geronimo Prieto, Antonio Bahamonde, Domingo de Jesus Maria and Jose Diez. The governor listened to the advices and opinions of the friars and did not urge the to scatter into the pueblos until peaceful relations with the tribes had become well established.

In 1695-6 crop failure and famine unsettled the conditions of both the natives and colonists. According to one authority—"people were forced to live on dogs, cats, horses, mules, bull hides, foul herbs and old bones; finally they roamed over the fields like wild animals."

The custodian of the friars was in a position to know the feeling of general uneasiness and the real sentiments of the natives. The imminent danger of a new revolt was predicted in a communication to Vargas on March 7th. He pointed out the lack of defense of the various missions and asked as a protection, a suitable guard of soldiers sufficient to cope with the dangers, so that a disaster similar to that of 1680 might be avoided.

This was followed on the 13th and 22nd with two more petitions, giving notice that the Indians had already committed outrages in the new temples. Some of the missionaries were allowed to leave their posts and to go to Santa Fé for safety. In his reports of Vargas to the viceroy, he touched on the imaginary dangers, and these misrepresentations were regarded by the friars as imputations of cowardice. All returned to their stations, and were ready for the crisis, which they knew was close at hand. On the 4th of June, sev-

eral nations arose. Five missionaries and twenty-one Spaniards were killed and the abandonment of pueblos quickly followed. The padres who suffered martyrdom were Fathers Arbiza of San Cristobal, Carbonel of Taos, Corvera of San Ildefonso, Moreno of Nambe, and Casañes of Jemes. Corvero and Moreno were shut up in a cell of the convent at San Ildefonso and burned to ashes with the building kindled by the natives. According to Espinosa, the chronicler, Padre Casañes at Jemes, foreseeing that he was about to meet his fate, asked the Indians to let him die embracing the foot of a certain cross. While about to make a sick call, he was led into ambush by the Apaches, who stoned and clubbed him to death at his chosen spot. Espinosa, in giving an account of his life, mentions—"his miraculous transportation by an angel on mule back to visit unknown Texas tribes." The surviving Franciscans of Queretero province left the country in 1696.¹²

This last decade of the seventeenth century coincides also with the opening period of missionary activities in Texas, and therefore a brief discussion of exploration there is necessary as a background to subsequent events. It must be noted here, by way of introduction, that more than a century and a half had elapsed since the original occupation by the Spaniards before the first *entrada* was made into Texas and in the meantime there were happenings that aroused to action the royal government in Spain and the viceroys, the ruling power in Mexico. Long and disastrous experience with the Indians in New Mexico and elsewhere had made the friars more cautious to seek always the presidio and its garrison as a guard and a protection for the neophytes, the settlers, the padres and the missions themselves. This became gradually to be regarded as the Spanish system of colonization everywhere, and was supported and improved by new enactments in the laws by the council of the Indies. These outposts of civilization dotted the northern frontier provinces of new Spain on both sides of the Rio Grande, and proved a barrier against foreign oppression and occupation and also were some hindrance to alien trade and compacts with the Indians, detrimental to the interests of the Spanish regimes. It was unlike English methods, and after

¹² Davis, W. H. H.: *Spanish Conquest of the Southwest*, pp. 336, et. seq.; Siguenza y Gongora Carlos: *Mercurio Volante in N. Mex. Doc. Hist.*, pp. 581-661; Escalante, Silvestre Velez: *Carta*, pp. 123-4; Siguenza y Gongora Carlos: *Carta al Admirante*, pp. 6-7; Vargas, Diego: *Reconquista d N. Mex.* pp. 118-24 in *Arch. Sta. Fe.*; Robles, Antonio: *Diario de los anos*, 117; Davis, W. H. H.: *Spanish Conquest of N. Mexico*, p. 142-3; Petition of the friars in *Arch. N. Mexico*, p. 142-3; Espinosa: *Cronica Seraphica*, pp. 176, 199-200; Escudero, Jose A.: *Noticias Estadisticas de Sonora*.

the practice of American appropriation of the soil and the exploitation of the natives, whom they pushed always farther and farther westward to make room for the settlement of the ever-increasing hordes of new colonists from Europe. The Spaniards, on the contrary, took a more humane attitude with the Indians and attempted to unite these darker races of God's creation with themselves and to mold therefrom a new nation and a new people.*

The opening pages of Texas history are full of tragedy. The ill-fated Narvaez expedition in 1528, although not an organized missionary undertaking, was carried on by Catholic pioneer explorers. Accompanying these first voyagers by sea from Mexico, was a motley throng of adventurers, and perhaps prospective colonists. Padre Juan Juarez, Fray de Palos and the other Franciscan missionaries that came with them perished on the southeastern shore of Texas, when the storm-tossed small vessel in which they were sailing, capsized with the loss of all on board. The painful wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca and three other survivors up and down the Southwest was the first advancement of Christians into this land of mystery, peopled by savages who regarded the strangers as a messenger sent to them from the Almighty and Divine Being. They were respected as persons gifted with supernatural power to heal and to cure those deathly sick. Cabeza de Vaca, in his *Relaciones*, gives many cases of Indians who were restored to health by the mere imposition of hands.¹³

* Historians, sociologists, ethnologists, are now in agreement that the treatment of the North American Indians at the hands of the English and American people has been a heartless policy of actual extermination. In 1908, the United States, through the Indian Bureau, acknowledged the utter failure of the government in solving the racial problems involved. In contrast, the Spanish system, which was a success, was acknowledged, approved, and highly recommended.

¹³ *Relation of Cabeza de Vacca* (see English translation by Buckingham Smith entitled: *Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca*, with memoir and appreciation of Smith's work by Dr. John Gilmary Shea. This edition contains portraits of the Franciscan padres, Fray Juan Xuarez and Fray Juan de Palos; *Carta de Cabeza de Vaca*, 1536, in Oviedo G. Hernandez de: *Historia General de las Indias*, lib. 35, Chap. 1-7, pp. 582-618; *Naufragios de Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca* in Barcia; *Historidores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*; See also reprint in *Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles*; Bancroft, H. H.: *North Mexican States and Texas*, I; Winsor, Justin: *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II. (See Dr. John Gilmary Shea: *Ancient Florida*). Coopwod, Bethel: *Route of Cabeza de Vaca in Quarterly Texas State Hist. Assoc.* III; pp. 108-140, 177-288, 229-264, IV, 1-3. See also X, pp. 246-279, 308-340; Davenport, Harbert: *Expedition of Narvaez by Oviedo*, (see Quarterly V., 27-28; Ribas, Andre Perez de: *Historia de los Triunphos*, pp. 24-26; Beaumont, Pablo: *Cronica* IV, 73-8; Herrera, Antonio de: *Historia General*, dec. iv., lib. iv., cap. v-vi; dec. vi., lib. I, cap. III-VII; Gleeson, W.: *History of the Catholic Church in California*, I, pp. 45-64.

For one hundred and fifty years before the Spaniards definitely attempted to settle this territory they gradually explored it. We may therefore pass over Moscoso and the survivors of the De Soto Expedition in 1542, and that of Father Olmos in 1544. Mere mention need only be made also of the landing of Bazares on Texas soil at Matagorda Bay in 1558.

The increasing territorial limits of the Spanish realm caused by these explorations and discoveries were regarded by certain mother countries in Europe with jealous eyes. The French sovereign and foreign traders were very covetous for lands possessed by the Spaniards in the New World. The La Salle project was an attempt to appropriate valuable lands in the basin of the Mississippi River at its mouth. The strategic importance of this French objective for commercial rivalry and for wider colonization was well estimated. The encroachment of that people upon the lands of their chief competitors, the Spaniards, was but the matter of time. La Salle revealed for the first time the object of his enterprise, when he landed at Matagorda Bay in February, 1685.

Several priests, who had accompanied him on his voyage, had come for the conquest of souls, and were therefore deceived by him. Among this group were three Franciscans, Fathers Zenobius Membre, Anastasius Douay, and Maximus La Clerq. Three Sulpicians also came for missionary purposes; Fathers John Cavellier de la Salle, Chefdeville, and D'Emansville. The last named priest returned to France in disgust, for he said he came to war against demons and not Christians.

La Salle made several attempts to reach the Mississippi River. He finally arranged a select party of followers, who, on account of their excellent physical condition, would assist him in gathering forces and supplies when they reached their destination. About twenty or more were left behind at Fort St. Louis, which had been built before the departure of La Salle, as a protection for those that remained. These forsaken ones were prevented by sickness, accidents, and other misfortunes from making the journey. Three priests stayed with them to comfort and console them, Fathers Membre, Le Clerq, and Chefdeville. Fathers La Salle and Douay went with the expedition that was never to return, for the great explorer was murdered on the way. The fate of those at fort was even more tragic. They were massacred by the savages. When the Spanish arrived on their first expedition, into Texas, they found only the burnt and charred ruins

of the fort and the unburied and scattered human remains of priests and laymen.¹⁴

Clark graphically describes the sad conditions of things taken principally from the *Derrotero* of Captain Leon, the military leader of the first *entradas*: "All there was deserted and silent. About the yard were scattered the contents of the plundered houses, broken chests and boxes and barrels, broken tackle of a ship; a great number of books with leaves torn and scattered, but bearing still the evidences of costly bindings; and broken cutlasses, and the stocks of many arquebuses with locks and barrels gone. On the prairie nearby lay three dead bodies, one of which, from the fragment of a dress that still clung to it, appeared to be that of a woman. The village consisted of five or six small houses or palisades, plastered over with mud, and covered with skins of buffaloes; a larger house where apparently animals were kept, and a wooden fort, made from the timbers of a wrecked vessel. The fort had four lower rooms, one of which had served as a chapel, and above these rooms was an upper story which had been used as a storeroom."

Clark thus tells the story of the destruction of Fort St. Louis and its little colony: "Before the final catastrophe, the smallpox had broken out among the villagers, reducing their number till there were scarcely more than a score left. La Salle had gone away with the ablest of the men on a last toilsome journey in search of the "fatal river." Day by day the few men, women and children, left upon the shore of Bay St. Louis, waited while hope slowly failed them. Around them was the unending wilderness, pathless and inhospitable; before them stretched a waste of sand beyond which spread out the wide tantalizing sea. Near the first of February, in the year 1689, the end came. They had been on friendly terms with the Indians, and consequently suspected no evil. The savages came and went about the village, bartering for trinkets, and professing friendship. Soon all of the people of the village, willing to accept any diversion to pass the tedious days, came out and gathered around the savages watching curiously their actions. A band of warriors then rushed up from the river, where they had been concealed, set upon the villagers and killed them all except five who were saved by an Indian woman. After massacring the inhabitants, the Indians plundered the huts and

¹⁴ Parkman, Francis: *Discovery of the Great West*, pp. 302-402; Margry, Pierre: *Memoires et Documents pour servir a l'histoire des origines francaises des pays d'outre-mer*, vol. III; Joutel, Henri de: *Journal Historique*, (see Mayer, Miss); Le Clerq, Chretien: *Histoire des Colonies Francaises. Relation de Henri Joutel* (see Margy III, pp. 91-534; *Translation in Hist. Coll. of La., part I*; Cavo, Andres: *Los Tres Siglos de Mexico*, II, pp. 70, et. seq.

the fort, breaking open the chests and scattering their contents, carrying away whatever they fancied, and breaking up what they could not use."

That the Spaniards were alarmed at the sudden occupation of Texas by the French is shown by the heroic efforts made in the frequent expeditions that followed one another in quick succession at the close of the seventeenth century.

About the time of this disastrous and bloody attack upon the remnants of La Salle's exploring party, the viceroy of Mexico, Conde de Paredes, Marques de Laguna, gave orders to the Marques de San Miguel de Aguayo, Governor of the new kingdom of Leon, to watch the movements of the French. A troop of cavalry, headed by Captain Alonso de Leon, accompanied by Father Manzanet, arrived at the Bahia de Espiritu Santo (Matagorda Bay) in 1689. This party was the first to penetrate the interior of Texas and they visited at that time the Tejas Indians, situated between the Trinity and the Neches Rivers. Here Manzanet met the chieftain of the nation on the banks of the Guadalupe, and received the encouragement to his missionary efforts that induced him to make a second *entrada* the following year. He was accompanied by Padres Miguel Fortecuberta, Francisco de Jesu Maria de Casanas, and Antonio Bordoy intent on the establishment of a mission in the midst of the savage wilderness, and in this place, four hundred miles from the nearest settlement, the three friars volunteered to remain.

The mission received the name of San Francisco de los Tejas from which the state derived its name. The intense suffering and want of these and the subsequent pilgrimages beggars all description. The third *entrada* was very extensively planned under the military leadership of Don Domingo Teran de los Rios, Governor of Coahuila and with Father Damian Manzanet as *comisario*. He was joined by the following Franciscans: Nicolas Prevo Miguel Garcia, Ildefonso Monge, Jose Soldano, Antonio Miranda, Juan Garaicoechea. On June 18, 1691, Father Manzanet received a letter through Indian messengers urging utmost haste as Mission San Francisco was in sore need of relief.

The expedition had succeeded in reaching the land of the Cadodachos, but only with the most painful trials and hardships. The unusual severity of the winter weather could just be borne through the greatest of human efforts. The wretched and unseasoned explorers and their company, amidst torrential rains and cold northerners, crossed dense forests and treacherous unbridged rivers, and were in

constant fear of Indian attacks. To make matters worse, difficulties were accentuated by a widening breach between Father Manzanet and Governor Teran.

The padres, with a few soldiers, set out promptly to bring succor to their needy brethren. When they reached San Francisco Mission, they learned of the death of Father Miguel Fortecuberta. With his two companions, he had toiled day and night attending to the fever-stricken people. In a single month the sickness had carried off over three hundred persons, and during the course of the year, 1690-1691, three thousand victims of the disease died, most of them having received baptism. Father Fortecuberta, weakened by these perpetual administrations and cares, also fell a victim to his zeal and became a martyr of charity.

The savages attributed these numerous deaths as an evil omen, and despised the new religion. The spread of the Gospel became very difficult under these circumstances, and the padres, at last worn out with their labor, listened, with some apprehension, to the hostile threats of the Indians against the self-sacrificing missionaries themselves. Military protection was sought from the viceroy and when this was not provided, Father Manzanet, filled with disappointment, directed the Fathers to retire and to return to Mexico.

For twenty years, after the abandonment of San Francisco and Santa Maria missions, the savages were left without any spiritual comfort or ministration.

"The little log church of San Francisco and its companion mission by the Neches," says Clark in his *Beginnings of Texas*, "although ephemeral and productive of no immediate good, in the larger outlook, were eminently worthwhile, for they served as an admonition and a warning when twenty years later, the friars came again to stretch their line of larger and more substantial churches from the Rio Grande to the Sabine."

The frequent wars between hostile tribes that roamed far and wide were the most menacing obstacles to missionary efforts. Father Hidalgo knew that all former endeavors, on the part of the padres, had met with indifference on the part of the viceroys and his court in Mexico. He therefore applied to Captain Luis de St. Denis, a French officer, for assistance and soldiers to protect the journey of the missionaries northward. The presence of St. Denis in Texas, four hundred miles inland on Spanish soil, caused the Mexican authorities to be awakened from their lethargy. They had dwelt in the false security that Texas could remain an unoccupied and untenanted wilderness as long as they saw fit to ignore the earnest requests of the friars.

To guard against any further unforeseen developments, the encroachments of Frenchmen on Spanish territory were offset by the re-establishment of the missions in Texas.

The military command of this new expedition was entrusted to Captain Domingo Ramon and many missionaries offered themselves for the field. The Father Guardian at Queretero selected the following volunteers: Fathers Hidalgo, Gabriel Vergera, Benito Sanchez, Manuel Castellanos and Pedro Prez de Mezquia. On reaching the Rio Grande, Padre Isidoro Espinosa was given instructions by the Father Guardian to accept the superiorship of the band. These were joined by another group of missionaries at San Juan Bautista who were awaiting the expedition. They were Fathers Matias Sanz de San Antonio, Pedro de Mendoza and Augustin Patro, under the care of the Venerable Father Antonio Margil,* all of them of the missionary college of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zacatecas. These two jurisdictions of Franciscans chose fields of labor apart from each other. The Fathers of Queretero re-established San Francisco de los Tejas on July 3, 1716. New foundations were made-Mission Purisima Concepcion among the Hasinai, Mission San Jose among the Nazonis. The Venerable Padre Margil established the Zacatecan missionaries at Mis-

* The Venerable Antonio Margil, professed priest of the Friars Minor Observant of St. Francis, completely fulfilled the command of the Divine Master, when He told His Disciples, "Go into all of the world, preach the Gospel and teach ye all nations." For no sooner had he ended his novitate than he occupied himself wholly in spreading the Word of God. Being soon called to the missions in the Indes, he gladly received the Apostolic Ministry, and leaving the country, crossed the ocean. In the New World, he was not content to labor only in known parts, but penetrating to the farthest and most inaccessible parts, he visited unfriendly nations of savage tribes, speaking unknown tongues, barbarous in their cruelty, overwhelmed in the darkness of ignorance, given over to witchcraft and superstitions, idolators, everywhere preaching Christ, the true God, and travailing to teach them the commands of the Gospel and a more civilized manner of life. Trusting in God, the Venerable Antonio daily undertook the most arduous journies, without scrip or purse or shoes; patiently suffering hunger and thirst and all manner of hardships; fearlessly enduring insults, bonds, arrows, the stake; oftentimes the danger of death, and thirsting after martyrdom, if only he might drag these wretched souls from the clutches of the devil and make them subject to Christ. Strengthened by the help of heaven, he brought many thousands of men, living aforetime like wild beasts, to religion and baptized them, destroyed the worship of false gods, did away with superstitions, broke up idols, and built chapels, mission houses, and colleges for the propagation of the Faith in the remotest regions. (From the *Apostolic Brief of Gregory, XVI*; quoted from Kerwin's *History of the Diocese of Galveston*, Chap. III, pp. 20-21, by Rt. Rev. Mgr. W. Wl Hume, D. D.

sion Nuestra Senora de los Dolores among the Adays Indians and Mission San Miguel de los Adaes. (Now Robeline, Louisiana).¹⁵

"Almost from the beginning," writes Father Isidoro Espinosa,* "the Fathers began to maintain themselves by the bread of tears and affliction. The first trouble occurred when seven of the twenty-five soldiers, who had been sent to guard the missions, deserted and abandoned us, at the same time taking along some of the animals destined for the use of the friars. After selecting the site for each mission, the missionaries assigned to them, had to construct their thatched dwellings unaided, and as no provision was forwarded, abstinence commenced on the first day. Although it was not the season of Lent, the meals consisted of nothing more than a purslane with salt and pepper. Once in a while the Indians would give us a little corn, a kind of beans, and some wild fruits, which served to divert, rather than to appease hunger. Rarely was a mouthful of meat obtained.

"The hardships endured by the missionaries in their great zeal will be better understood if we will bear in mind that the *ranchos* of the Indians lay far apart; that some of them were situated six and even seven leagues distant in every direction. Hence it was not an easy matter to visit the greater number of *ranchos* in one day, especially when it became necessary to remain a long time instructing

¹⁵ Carta de Damien Manzanet. Derrolero de Alonso de Leon. Espinosa, Isidor: *Cronica Barcia*; *Ensayo Cronologica*; Margry, Pierre: *Memoires*; Cavo: *Los Tres Seglos*; Banilla: *Breve Compendio*; Bancroft, H. H.: *North Mex. States and Texas*, I; Villa Senor y Sanchez: *Theatro Americano*. For the third *entrada*, the chief document contains three parts: (1) Instructions given by the viceroy; (2) Diary of Governor Teran, and (3) Diary of Father Damien Manzanet, all to be found in *Documentos para historia Ecclesiastica y civil de la Provincia de Texas in Memorias de Nueva Espana*, V. 27. These three documents have been translated by Mrs. Austin Hatcher, Archivist, University of Texas, and will be printed soon as Preliminary Studies, Vol. I, No. I, of the Texas Catholic Historical Society now in the process of organization. Clark, R. C.: *The Beginnings of Texas in Quarterly of Texas State Historical Assoc*, V. pp. 171. *Carta y Relacion de Fray Francisco de Jesus Maria al Conde de Salve*, Aug. 15, 1691, (the A. & M. Collection). Fourth *entrada* under Ramon (in *Memorias de Nueva Espana*, vol. 27), is translated and will appear later as Preliminary Study of Texas Catholic Hist. Soc.

* The translation of Espinosa used here is quoted from Father Zepheryn Engelhardt, O. F. M., in a series of articles written for the *Franciscan Herald*, (1914-1917, inclusive), entitled "*Missionary Labors of the Franciscans Among the Indians of the Early Days*." Espinosa's *Chronicles* are one of the chief reliable sources of early Texas Catholic history because the author was one of the first missionaries sent to this country from the Colegio de Santa Cruz at Queretero, Mexico. The records of the missionary work of the Franciscans for the later period were continued by Padre Juan Arrievita under the same title: *Cronica Seraphica y Apostolica*. A few excerpts are taken here and there to demonstrate the extreme hardships and wants under which these pioneer priests labored.

the dying, or persuading those in health not to prevent the the eternal salvation of the sick.

“The Fathers shed many tears for the conversion of the Indians. Particularly during the times of epidemics, the missionaries took pains to search the wretched hovels for dying children, and this opened the heavenly doors to a great many.

“For two years,” Father Espinosa tells us, “the want and the hardships which the Fathers endured, were keenly felt, but it seems they were unavoidable. From the time the missionaries entered the country in 1716, no aid whatever reached them, and as supplies, which they brought along with them were very few, they soon gave out and were reduced to great straits.

“During the years 1717 and 1718, owing to the severity of the drought, the harvest of corn and beans among the Indians were very poor. As we usually received some provisions from the natives, it was inevitable that when they themselves suffered from want, we would also feel the pangs of hunger. Although we had written to the Colleges of Santa Cruz and Guadalupe, and although they had taken energetic steps to relieve our necessities, by appealing to the viceroy, His Excellency, the Marquis de Valera and the Royal Junta or Council could do no more than direct a governor to proceed at once with soldiers and provisions to Coahuila and Texas.

“I did not intend that, through my reports, the reputation of any officer be blackened, but it is certain that, in the year 1717, at the request of the Father Superior of the Rio Grande missions, a corporal and fifteen soldiers, accompanied by some friars, were dispatched to Texas in order to transport the supplies which His Excellency, the Viceroy, had provided with an open hand. Nevertheless, these supplies, which would have saved the whole province, remained forty leagues away in the desert, like a ship run aground, because the soldiers, who bore the provisions, were impeded in their march by the swollen water of the Trinity River, which had overflowed its banks for a distance of two leagues. The men waited until December, but as they noticed that the rains increased rather than diminished, and feared lest they themselves might perish, they left all the supplies on a little oak-sheltered hill and returned much discouraged to the Rio Grande del Norte. The friars, too, seeing that it was impossible to proceed, left a letter in the hands of some Texas Indians, who remained in that region to plant their fields, and directed them to deliver it as soon as the river would permit passage. This letter told where the provisions had been hidden, and where the mail sent to

us could be found. Of all this nothing was known to us in the missions until the month of July, 1718."

"Before relating what then took place," Father Espinosa continues, "I shall give a brief account of the miseries in which we found ourselves engulfed. In the first place, the daily bread, which, in this country is Indian corn, was wanting. If, perchance, after running through the *rancherias* a peck of corn was gathered, there was much ado about it as if a great train of provisions had arrived. The scarcity of grain prevented us from making as much as a *tortilla*. When, by chance, we could get a mouthful of meat, we boiled a handful of corn and this answered the purpose of bread. Salt was entirely wanting. Meat, in quantities, was not to be had at all, and even if, on rare occasions, some compassionate Indian brought us a bit of venison, the want of salt rendered it little agreeable to the taste. Many a day dawned when there was absolutely nothing to eat at hand.

"The burden of distress weighed most heavily on us not at the table, but at the altar. Like all our other supplies, the wax also gave out. Many days were spent putting together the stubs and the drippings until all the wax had disappeared. After that we had recourse to candles made of fat; but even here the quantity we could collect among the Indians, was so meager that even on days of obligation, we were obliged to celebrate Holy Mass with but one candle. The altar wine, too, became so scarce that only so much was put into the cruets as was absolutely necessary to make it lawful matter.

"In this extremity, the Lord sent us some assistance through the Venerable Father Antonio Margil, who was superior of the Guadalupe missions, thirty leagues or more farther east. He paid us a visit, and we learned that his missions suffered the same difficulties as our own, save that they possessed what was necessary for Holy Mass. As soon as the good Father had observed our lack of altar wine and wax, he jestingly confided to me that he, though an old man, had buried a bottle of wine to provide for the time of extreme necessity. When Father Margil, therefore, returned to his mission, he quickly sent us a quart bottle full of wine and a pound of wax. This we divided among the six priests, and thus, to our great consolation, we were enabled to celebrate Holy Mass again, sometimes during the week, and only on Sundays and holidays of obligation as heretofore."

Father Espinosa concluded by saying, "There were many hardships that were of a different nature which gave us ample opportunity of gaining merits during the two years, but these I leave to the imagination of the reader. I only hope that the Sovereign Father of us all has found it worth while to mark down in His records, what His

servants endured, and that He will compensate them on the Last Day."

Father Pedro Munoz of the Rio Grande missions felt a great deal of concern about the dire needs and the distress of the Texas missions. He feared that the savages must have discovered the supplies stowed away near the Trinity River, and consequently set out with fresh supplies of provisions to succor his starving brethren.

Fathers Espinosa and Margil, with their suffering companions in the missions, were ignorant of these cached goods until informed by messengers of the relief party. The letter of Father Muñoz was delivered on July 26, the friars embraced each other at the very place where the provisions were concealed.

Much belated news came to hand, but the most important information was the proposed settlement of whites on the San Antonio River. Authorization was also given by the viceroy and his council for the establishment of new missions between the San Antonio and Guadalupe Rivers. Interminable delays prevented the carrying out of the order of March 12, 1718. Finally Father Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivares took matters into his own hands and obtained permission from the viceroy to transfer his mission of San Francisco de Solano from the south bank of the Rio Grande to the San Antonio River. Father Olivares may therefore be regarded as the founder of the Mission San Antonio de Valero, the Alamo, as it was called in later history. Five other missions were built in the course of time, the ruins of which are preserved to this day. Troubles with the French in east Texas, a temporary retreat to San Antonio, a return to those places so recently deserted, discouragement of the padres, the transfer of the Missions San Francisco, Purisima Concepcion and San José to San Antonio is the story briefly told of the living martyrs of Texas. The outstanding figure among all was the Venerable Father Margil who is regarded as the patron of this state, as Junipero Serra deserves to rank in California. Lives like these shine down the centuries with all the effulgence of that heavenly light which animated and illumed their saintly careers while on earth.

The Missions of San Antonio begot others in time. Father Arrievita relates: "On one of his apostolic journeys, Father Mariano Francisco de los Dolores Y Viana of Mission San Antonio discovered a large collection of Mayeyes, Yojuines, Deadoses, Vidais, and other savages near Rio San Xavier (San Gabriel) about midway between the Rio San Antonio and the abandoned missions on the Neches River. By means of the judicious use of gifts of tobacco that delighted especially the male Indians, and of sweets and trinkets that capti-

vated the females, Father Mariano soon found himself on friendly terms with the savages. After he had humored them sufficiently, he cautiously seized the opportunity of acquainting them with the object of his visit. At some length, and in the simplest terms, he spoke of the various points of Christian Doctrine, the necessity of knowing the Creator, and of doing what He commanded, of the eternal happiness of the soul in another world, and of the wretched condition of the damned."

The Indians later sent a delegation to Father Mariano asking him to establish missions in their midst. They belonged to other tribes who had no relation with those at San Antonio. They were, moreover, too far separated by distance to enjoy the ministrations of the friars, yet they wished to become Christians.

After years of persuasion by the natives and several petitions to the viceroy of Mexico by Mariano, the San Xavier missions were built. They were named San Xavier, San Ildefonso, and Candelario. A *presidio* with a garrison was also provided, but its management by Captain Rabago ruined the work of the padres because this officer led a very dissolute life, and gave public scandal by his misconduct.

Finally he tried to assassinate one of the Fathers who had tried to punish the offender by ecclesiastical censure. Father Ganzabal, as he appeared at the door of Mission San Ildefonso, was cruelly pierced by an arrow. Shortly after his death, the wrath of God descended on the place. Father Mariano, an eye-witness, thus describes the scene: "The sacrilegious homicide having been perpetuated, the elements at once conspired, declaring divine justice provoked, for in the sky appeared a ball of fire so horrible that all were terrified, and with so notable a circumstance that it circled from the *presidio* to the mission of the Orcoquiza, and returned to the same *presidio*, and then exploded with a noise as loud as could be made by a heavy cannon. The river ceased to run, and its waters became so corrupted that they were extremely noxious and intolerable to the smell. The air became so infected that all who went to the place, even though merely passing, became infected by the pest, which became so malicious that many of the inhabitants died, and we found ourselves in the last extremes of life. Finally the land became so accursed that what had been a beautiful plain, became converted into a thicket, in which opened horrible crevices that caused terror; and the inhabitants became put to it, in order to escape the complete extermination which threatened them that they moved more than thirty leagues away with no other

permission than that granted to them by the natural right to save their own lives.”*

The terrible phenomenon struck terror into the hearts of the Indians. They fled and the missions were completely deserted. It became necessary to move the equipment at San Xavier to the San Marcos River. Here the caravans stayed for a few months, but since the location was not acceptable to all concerned, a place at the origin of the Guadalupe River was chosen. At first no Indians came, but later on thousands appeared, but all efforts to detain them were of no avail. Colonel Diego Ortiz Parillo, who was placed in command of the garrison, was convinced that the whole project was impossible. The mission on the Guadalupe was soon abandoned.

The situation at the San Saba missions, then recently established, was very unsettled. There Fathers Terreros, Santiesteban, and Molina were leading a precarious existence. The Apaches were afraid to locate at this place because of the increased hostility of their northern enemies. In March the Comanches and their allies appeared, two thousand or more, on horseback. On the 16th they attacked the mission killing Fathers Terreros and Santiesteban, and six other persons. The reason for the massacre was a general impression that the Spaniards had, by establishing the mission, allied themselves with the Apaches.

An effort was made to build up confidence and morale which had been greatly disturbed by these terrible atrocities. New missionaries were sent to carry on the work of evangelization off the natives. Fathers Francisco Aparicio and Pedro Parras were the appointments from the college of Santa Cruz. Fathers Junipero Serra and Francisco Palou were the choice of the college of San Fernando. At the last moment plans were changed and these two illustrious sons of St. Francis, instead of coming to Texas, because the great apostles of California.¹⁶

* Quoted from Bolton, Herbert Eugene: *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, p. 268—For detailed account—op. cit. *The San Xavier Missions*, chap. viii and ix.

¹⁶ Engelhardt, Fray Zephyrin: *The Missions and Missionaries in California*; *ibid.*: *Missionary Labors of the Franciscans Among the Indians in the Early Days, in the Franciscan Herald, monthly from 1914-1917, inclusive*; Bolton, Herbert Eugene: *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*; *ibid.*: Many articles in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc. on the Missions*. Dr. Bolton has done the most learned and scholarly work on Texas history. The many original documents uncovered by him are a revelation to other investigators and research students; *ibid.*: De Mezieres, *ibid.*: *Guide to the Materials for History of the U. S. in the Archives of Mexico*. Espinosa, Isidoro: *Cronica Seraphica*; Arrieivita, Juan: *Cronica Seraphica*; Dunn, William Edward: *Articles on the Apache Rela-*

Nearly four centuries have passed since the first soldiers of the Cross began their spiritual conquest of the Southwest. For three-score years and more before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock on the New England shore, the Franciscan Fathers had labored, suffered, and died here for the cause of Christianity. Nay, they did even more, they gave their lives as a complete oblation and as a supreme test of their fidelity and devotion. Their crowns of martyrdom, richly jeweled with gems of ruby blood, entwined with richest garlands of virtue are the imperishable memorials that adorn the Cross of Christ, the King of Martyrs. Long may He reign in this land of predilection, rendered sacred by the blood of the saintly padres and the manifestation of their many miracles.

PAUL J. FOIK, C.S.C., Ph.D.

St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas.

tions in Texas in *Texas State Hist. Assoc. Quarterly*, xiv, pp. 198-274; xv, 186-200, xvi, 379-414; Shea, John Gilmary: *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*; Wooten, Dudley: *Comprehensive History of Texas, 1685-1897*. For the San Antonio missions the *Bexar Archives* of the University of Texas are abundant in source materials as also the *State Archives* and those of San Fernando Cathedral in San Antonio. See Bolton's bibliography of documentary materials in his *Texas in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century*.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

(Continued)

Third National Convention held in Atlantic City, N. J., Aug. 1-5, 1903

RT. REV. JAMES A. McFAUL, D. D., of Trenton, N. J., Sponsor

The Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies was held at Atlantic City, N. J., from August 1 to 5, 1903. The opening services were conducted at St. Nicholas Church with the following prelates in attendance: Rt. Rev. J. A. McFaul, D.D., Bishop of Trenton, N. J.; Rt. Rev. S. G. Messmer, D.D., Bishop of Green Bay, Wis.; Rt. Rev. B. J. Keiley, D.D., Bishop of Savannah, Ga. The celebrant of the High Mass (Coram Episcopo) was Rev. F. J. McShane, O.S.A., of Atlantic City, N. J. Bishop Messmer preached the sermon, taking his text from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Chap. XII). The Bishop spoke of the duties of the Catholic laity, especially of bringing Catholic truth before non-Catholics.

The convention sessions were presided over by President F. B. Minahan. There were delegates present from 38 states, the District of Columbia and Porto Rico. Sixteen delegates were present from the State of Illinois. The report of the National Secretary disclosed great progress in organization work, and letters of endorsement were read from President Roosevelt, Archbishop D. Falconio, Apostolic Delegate to the U. S. A., and many Bishops. The affiliation of the Chippewa and Sioux Indians was also reported and that Chief Tall Mandan of South Dakota was a delegate to the convention.

Bishop B. J. Keiley of Savannah, Ga., when called upon for a few remarks, stated that he is a convert to the idea of Catholic Federation and that converts excel in fervor those who from infancy have been brought up in the Church. He said that he at first feared that partisan politics might creep into Federation, but that fear had now entirely disappeared.

The Bishop was followed by Mr. F. B. Minahan, who explained the almost insurmountable difficulty experienced in launching the Federation movement, but the ringing commands of its two episcopal leaders, Bishop McFaul and Bishop Messmer, "Don't give up the ship," gave courage to the officers; and at this convention the two

great nationalities in this country, the German and the Irish, have removed all mistrust which was so noticeable at the Cincinnati and Chicago conventions. President Minahan then paid a beautiful tribute to Pope Leo XIII, whose death had been announced.

The second session opened with Pontifical Mass celebrated by Bishop B. J. Keiley. In the Sanctuary were Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia and Bishops McFaul and Messmer. A powerful sermon was preached by Rev. W. P. Cantwell of Long Branch, N. J. He spoke of "Unity" and quoted extensively from the Encyclical of Leo XIII on "Christian Democracy," saying "that the Holy Father in his encyclical advises the Catholic societies of every land to unite and to stand together in defense of Christian principles."

On the evening of the second day Rev. William O'Brien Pardow, S. J., of New York, gave a stirring address on "Christian Education."

The third day opened with a Pontifical Requiem for Pope Leo XIII, with Bishop Messmer as celebrant. Rt. Rev. Monsignor John H. Fox, vicar general of the Diocese of Trenton, N. J., gave a wonderful sermon on the "Supremacy of Peter," concluding with a prayer that "our Divine Lord will fill the chair of Peter with a wise, great and good successor to Leo XIII."

At the business session a great deal of routine business was transacted, such as reports of standing committees, reports of State and County Federations, etc., and impromptu addresses on timely subjects were delivered by Judge M. F. Girten of Chicago on the "Benefits of Organization," by Mr. Joaquin Ferran of Porto Rico on "Conditions in Porto Rico," supplementing his remarks with a letter from Rt. Rev. James H. Blenk, Bishop of Porto Rico (later Archbishop of New Orleans, La.); by Chief Peter Tall Mandan ("Miwatani Hanska"), the Indian delegate from South Dakota, and by Rev. Father Digmann, S. J., an Indian Missionary.

In the evening of the third day a mass meeting was held in St. Nicholas Church, presided over by Bishop McFaul. The principal speaker was Hon Ed. J. McDermott of Louisville, Ky. (later Lieutenant Governor of Kentucky), whose address was an eulogy of "Pope Leo XIII and the Papacy." The address was a masterly one which covered a wide range and was fortified by many quotations from standard Protestant writers such as Macaulay, Bryce, Hallam, Guizot, Canon Farrar and Lecky.

The fourth day session opened with the reading of a cablegram from Rome announcing the election of Cardinal Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, as the successor to Leo XIII, who had assumed the name of

Pius X. Great applause followed this announcement and a cablegram of greeting to the new Pontiff was immediately forwarded.

The various committees now made their reports. The Resolutions adopted covered the Federation's views on "Christian Education," "Marriage," "The Philippine Question," "France," "Indian Schools," "Catholic Truth Society," "Offensive and Erroneous Books in Public Libraries," "The Press," "Lynching," "Temporal Power of the Pope," "Socialism and the Labor Question."

A great debate arose over the Resolution on the Philippines between Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., of New York, and Rev. James T. O'Reiley, O. S. A., of Lawrence, Mass. The controversy was over the preamble of the Resolution referring to "the lamentable condition of religious affairs in the Philippines being due to the policy *adopted* by United States officials." Father Wynne suggested the substitution of the word "*tolerated*" for adopted, which was finally assented to by Father O'Reiley. The debate brought prominently before the delegates the conditions in the Philippines, which led Dr. Conde B. Pallen to exclaim, in his address which followed: "Thank God for this debate; you have held the metal in the fire until it became glowing hot; you have hammered it upon the anvil until you had it in shape, and then you steeped it in the bath of the waters of prudence."

On the fourth day there was another mass meeting, presided over by Bishop McFaul. Addresses were delivered by the Hon. Walter George Smith of Philadelphia on "The True Ideal of Catholic Federation"; by Rev. H. C. Ganss, D. D., on "The Church and the Indian." (This address was gotten out in booklet form by "The Messenger of the Sacred Heart," New York, price 5 cents). Dr. Ganss paid a beautiful tribute to Mother Katherine Drexel who has been one of the main supporters of the Indian Schools. Dr. Ganss stated that the total amount collected throughout the U. S. in 1902 for the Indian Schools was \$22,090 and that Mother Drexel gave in that year alone \$83,000.

The fifth day marked the closing session, with addresses by Mr. Nicholas Gonner of Dubuque, Iowa, of the German Central Verein, who spoke on "Catholic Federation for All Societies," and Mr. F. W. Immekus of Pittsburgh, on "German State League of Pennsylvania." After the usual resolutions of thanks, the officers for 1903-1904 were elected as follows: National President, T. B. Minahan, Columbus, O.; First Vice President, J. B. Oelkers, Newark, N. J.; Second Vice President, F. J. Kierce, San Francisco, Cal.; Third Vice President, Edward Feeney, Brooklyn, N. Y.; National Secretary, Anthony Matré, Cincinnati, O.; National Treasurer, H. J. Fries, Erie,

Pa.; Executive Board: N. Gonner, Dubuque, Iowa; Thomas H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill.; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh, Pa.; J. W. Fowler, Louisville, Ky.; Walter G. Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.; J. Galvin, Brattleboro, Vt.; Peter Wallrath, Evansville, Ind. At this convention Mr. C. E. Royer of Erie, Pa., submitted a design for an Emblem of Federation which was adopted.

This convention adjourned to meet in Detroit, Mich., in 1904.

* * * *

Fourth National Convention Held in Detroit, Mich., Aug. 2-3-4, 1904

RT. REV. JOHN S. FOLEY, D.D., of Detroit, Mich., Sponsor

The Fourth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies took place at Detroit, Mich., August 2, 3, 4, 1904. The opening services were held in St. Mary's Church with Rt. Rev. John S. Foley, D.D., Bishop of Detroit, as celebrant of the Pontifical Mass. Among the prelates in attendance were Archbishop W. H. Elder of Cincinnati, O.; Archbishop S. G. Messmer of Milwaukee, Wis.; Bishops Maes of Covington, Stang of Fall River, Mass., and McFaul of Trenton, N. J. The Uniformed Knights of St. John, under command of Col. Caspar H. Schulte, took prominent part and escorted the delegates from the Cadillac Hotel to the church. The sermon preached on this occasion was by Rev. P. O'Brien of Toledo, O., who took for his subject: "Render, therefore, unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." He concluded his masterly address by saying: "Discuss the questions that may come before you honestly and fearlessly, as becomes true American citizens. Hew to the line, no matter where the chips may fall. Let religion and patriotism guide all your actions, and may God bless your deliberations."

The business sessions were held in the Armory of the Detroit Light Guards. The delegates were welcomed to Detroit by Colonel C. H. Schulte, President of the Detroit Federation; by Hon. Mayor W. C. Maybury and by Bishop J. S. Foley. Responses were made by National President F. B. Minahan, Bishop McFaul and by Archbishop Messmer. Bishop C. P. Maes of Covington, Ky., also gave a brief address and Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati, gave the benediction. Roll call showed 24 states, 8 dioceses, 10 national organizations and 5 state leagues represented. Letters from 30 Archbishops and Bishops were read.

A report on Federation activities during the past year disclosed that the resolutions adopted by the Atlantic City convention met with the cordial approbation of distinguished churchmen. Cardinal Richard of Paris thanked Federation on the expression of sympathy extended to the Catholics of France, now being tried by persecution. Bishop Grant of the Methodist Church gave Federation's resolution on "Christian Education" unqualified endorsement as did also the Catholic Educational Conference held in St. Louis, Mo. The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, through Rev. William N. Ketcham, sent a letter of gratitude for the assistance Federation rendered in the matter of the restoration of the rations to our Catholic Indians. It was announced that the work of Federation is becoming more and more recognized and its literature was requested by prominent churchmen and laymen of Germany, Ireland and Canada.

THE FATHER MARQUETTE STATUE

The National Secretary informed the convention that at the National Executive Board meeting he was directed to send the following resolution to all Congressmen and Senators of the U. S. A.:

Whereas, the statue of Father James Marquette, the gift of the State of Wisconsin to the Nation's Hall of Fame, has not yet been formally accepted by the Congress of the U. S., and

Whereas, this statue has been for a number of years in place in the National Capitol, although its acceptance by the House of Representatives has been denied; and

Whereas, the acceptance of this statue is desired by all patriotic citizens, to the end that the glorious memory of the great explorer and discoverer of the Mississippi shall be perpetuated by the nation; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Executive Board of the American Federation of Catholic Societies that we respectfully urge upon the present Congress, the formal and early acceptance of the statue of Father Marquette, the gift of the State of Wisconsin to the Nation's Hall of Fame.

It is needless to state, says the National Secretary in his annual report, that Congress finally accepted the Father Marquette statue and that a letter was sent by Federation to Wm. T. Otjen, conveying to him the thanks of the Federation, as follows:

Cincinnati, O., February 4, 1904.

Hon. T. Otjen, Washington, D. C.

Hon. and dear Sir:—The Executive Board of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, speaking for one million members of the Federation, in fact, expressing the sentiments of all American

Catholics, greatly appreciate the part your Honor has taken in introducing into the House of Congress the bill for the acceptance of the Pere Marquette statue, and hereby tender you the thanks of the Federation.

Respectfully yours,
F. B. MINAHAN, National President.
ANTHONY MATRE, National Secretary.

In his report, National President Minahan stated that a Federation was launched in New York at a meeting held in Carnegie Hall over which Archbishop Farley presided and at which Hon. Bourke Cochran and Wm. Koelble spoke.

At Tuesday evening's mass meeting the Indian chief, Charging Bear, spoke in the Indian language and was interpreted by Rev. Father Strassmaier, O.S.B., of North Dakota, who also spoke. Addresses were also delivered by Dr. Condé B. Pallen of New York, on "Christian Education" and by Bishop McFaul on "Catholic Federation—Its Aim."

The second day of the convention opened with Pontifical Requiem at Sts. Peter and Paul's Church. Bishop C. P. Maes of Covington, Kk., was celebrant, assisted by Very Rev. Jos. Schrembs, Vicar General of Grand Rapids, Mich., and Rev. J. Otten. Archbishop Elder and Bishop McFaul occupied seats in the sanctuary.

The business session followed. The first on the program was an informal address by Bishop Hennessy of Wichita, Kansas, on Church Extension and other matters.

The Bishop said in part:

You are gathered here from all quarters of this country. Would not the American Federation of Catholic Societies do a good work if it could form a Board of Church Extension, as the different churches of the Protestant denomination have? How that is to be formed I do not know; I have not given it sufficient study to be able to give you any information on it. I know that if we had among ourselves a Board from which money could be borrowed, at a low rate of interest, on church property, or church property exclusively in the West, or anywhere else where it was needed, that it would be doing a progressive work—a work, I believe, in keeping with the object of Federation. Your object is, I believe, a bettering of our condition. I don't know of any better object than to take care of our fellow citizens who go into the West, buying their little farms, and with very little more money, than to supply them with places where they can adore Almighty God, and practice the truths of their religion. In time this money comes back. Certainly no Board of Church Extension will be at any loss for any contribution they make to the great plains of the West. . . .

About a year ago I was called upon by a committee to give permission to purchase, in a little town in Western Kansas, a Protestant church, to be used for Catholic services—a small congregation—and this committee made request. There was no church; the congregation was small; the people had just moved in there, and the Protestant church could be had at a low figure. Certainly I gave permission. When the deed came to me I found that the owner of that church was an organization in the City of New York, called a Church Extension Society. On inquiry, I found that some years before a small congregation of—I think they were Congregational people—attempted to build a church in this little town, and they borrowed from their organization in New York, the Church Extension Society, the sum of \$700 or \$800. The congregation dwindled down, the Catholics moved in, and bought the church for \$400. . . .

I am now asking the Federation to incorporate in its work as a society of Catholic people a Board to assist weak Western parishes in putting houses over their heads and schools for their children; to loan them money at a low rate of interest, to be paid back, and a mortgage to be given on the property. There you have a work which is the propagation of the Faith in fruit. I leave the matter of a Church Extension Board for the consideration of your officers and your Resolutions Committee.

[At the meeting of the Executive Board, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 12, 1905, with Archbishop Messmer, Bishop McFaul, Messrs. Peter Wallrath of Evansville, Ind.; F. W. Immekus of Pittsburgh, Pa.; C. H. Schulte of Detroit, Mich.; Nicholas Gonner of Dubuque, Ia.; A. Dunlap of Cincinnati (proxy for Walter George Smith of Philadelphia); Alphonse G. Koelble of New York, and Anthony Matre, in attendance, the matter of Church Extension, on the lines proposed at the Detroit convention, was thoroughly discussed and endorsed by the Executive Board with the recommendation to have a committee appointed at the next convention to be held at Buffalo, N. Y., to take up this work. The plan outlined by the Executive Board was to assist in the establishment of churches in various parts of the country; to advance money to struggling parishes and help them until they become self-sustaining. National officers of Fraternal Societies, who invest their organizations' funds in mortgages and bonds, were to be placed on this committee on Church Extension. An interesting address made by Rev. F. C. Kelley, now Bishop Kelley of Oklahoma, on the Catholic Church Extension Society, of which he is the founder, and which he delivered at the Buffalo Federation convention will appear in a future article.]

The Rt. Rev. J. J. Hartley, Bishop of Columbus, O., was called upon and in his address he stated among other things:

In this country of fifteen million Catholic people, our voice is like the voice of St. John the Baptist, as one crying in the wilderness—in the wilderness of commercialism, Socialism, selfishness and carelessness, indifferent to everything that goes on, we leave the church to feel its way and do the best it can. What is the reason we are not doing some good for Catholic union in this country? I say it is in the first place, because our forces are scattered, our minds are pre-occupied with selfish ends We ought to unite our forces, not be scattered lots, but stand shoulder to shoulder, and this Federation seems to be a society that has that object in view. . . .

It will be a blessed day for the Catholic people of the United States when we lift ourselves outside of partisan lines and stand in the middle of the road, to fight the cause of God, Church and our country—independent of all partisan politics. And, gentlemen, if I were to point out the places where these battles are to be fought I will say to you that the *Church*, the *School*, the *Home* and the *United States*, these are the battlefields—the interests of these four are dear to every Catholic heart. I will do all I can in my own little diocese to promote the cause of Catholic Federation. . . .

Very Rev. Joseph Schrembs, Vicar General of Grand Rapids, Mich. (now Bishop of Cleveland, O., and chairman of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Lay Organizations), addressed the meeting as follows:

The Federation is reaching out; it is going deeper; it is going to the very fountain-head, to the very source of all that is Catholic—back to the family, into the very heart of the family. The unit of Christian life is the family; the next unit is the parish, for it is there that the families are congregated; and now the Federation is striving to reach the real Federation—the Federation of Catholic parishes by which it reaches out its hand into every Catholic family in the land; and, oh, how grand an object, and how grand a blessing, the day when every Catholic family of the land shall be gathered together, when they shall stand hand to hand, like one man, before the country, and when the Church can stand behind in the person of her pastors and say: "Behold them; these are my children!"

Other addresses were made by Hon. M. F. Girtten of Chicago, who spoke of the persecution of the Church in France and referred to the sacrileges committed in that country on the last Good Friday when the crucifixes were torn from the walls of public buildings. He urged the sending of a strong resolution to those responsible for the persecution—condemning their actions—and of voicing sentiments of sympathy and prayer to the persecuted.

Father W. McMahon of Cleveland, O., spoke briefly on the need of a Catholic Publishing House in the U. S.

Father Michaelis of Toledo, O., pointed out the dangers of Socialism, stating that a declaration of the Federation opposing Socialism will be beneficial in our fight. "Socialism," said the speaker, "is a living issue and the arguments advanced by its agitators, and which appeal to the people, is the bread-and-butter argument. Federation should show that its sympathies are with the plain people."

At the evening's mass meeting at the Armory, Mr. Thomas McKenna of New York presided. The principal address was delivered by Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S. J., of New York, on "Socialism"—one of the burning questions at that time. He was followed by an address on "Federation" by Mr. Thomas B. Minahan, and by Mr. Nicholas Gonner of Dubuque, who spoke on "Catholic Leaders."

At the closing session August 4th, over which Mr. Thomas H. Cannon of Chicago, Ill., presided, the committee on Resolutions, through its chairman, Mr. Walter George Smith of Philadelphia, made its report. The Resolutions—or Federation platform—expressed Federation's views on: Loyalty to Pope Pius X; The Temporal Power of the Pope; Support of the Church; Praise for the German Centre Party; Persecution of Religious Orders in France; Catholic Indian Schools; Education of the Negro; Guarding the Faith of Catholic Immigrants; Religion in the Schools; Sunday Observance; The Church in the Philippines; Support of the Catholic University; Reform of Divorce Laws; Socialism Condemned; Bribery and Corruption Deplored; Catholic Books in Public Libraries; Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception.

After the reading of the Resolutions, a debate ensued in which Rev. J. H. Muehlenbeck of Toledo, O.; Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., New York, and Mr. Walter George Smith took part. The debate was most enlightening and the convention was grateful to Father Muehlenbeck for precipitating the same.

The financial report of the National Treasurer disclosed that the amount received by him during the past year was \$3,033.56. The expenditures were \$2,558.25—leaving a balance in treasury of \$475.31.

After the report of the Committee of Ways and Means, of which Mr. Joseph Berning of Cincinnati was chairman, the usual Resolutions of Thanks were offered. The Nomination Committee then made its report as follows:

THE OFFICERS

For President—Thomas B. Minahan of New York.
For First Vice President—John B. Oelkers of New Jersey.
For Second Vice President—Edward Feeney of New York.
For Third Vice President—George W. Stenger of Minnesota.
For Secretary—Anthony Matré of Ohio.
For Treasurer—C. H. Schulte of Michigan.
For Marshal—N. W. Merwick of Kansas.
For Color Bearer—Chief Tall Mandan of South Dakota.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Walter George Smith of Pennsylvania.
Nicholas Gonner of Iowa.
Thomas H. Cannon of Illinois.
J. W. Fowler of Kentucky.
F. W. Immekus of Pennsylvania.
Peter Wallrath of Indian.
H. N. Coulon of Louisiana.

The above officers were unanimously elected, and Bishop McFaul performed the installation ceremony. The convention was adjourned with prayer by Archbishop Messmer and the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner."

ANTHONY MATRE, K.S.G., National Secretary.

Chicago, Ill.

ILLINOIS: THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN MID-AMERICA

(Continued from April, 1928)

CHAPTER VI.

FORT ST. LOUIS

After one of the most trying journeys ever made over American swamps and prairies, and through unknown forests, Tonti arrived again at Fort St. Louis (Starved Rock) in September, 1690.

His status was now uncertain, and he promptly took steps to communicate with his government, suggesting a course which would be agreeable to him. This communication took the form of a petition addressed to the Count de Pontchartrain. The petition itself bears no date, but there is a general agreement among writers that it was written in 1690. The original was found in the archives of the Marine Department of Paris, and was translated by the historian, Jared Sparks. Like everything that Tonti wrote, it is very concise, and in a few paragraphs gives the main incidents in this great explorer's life. The petition reads as follows:

Henry de Tonti humbly represents to your highness that he entered the military service as a cadet, and was employed in that capacity in the years 1668 and 1669; and that he afterwards served as a midshipman four years, at Marseilles and Toulon, and made seven campaigns, that is, four on board ships of war and three in the galleys. While at Messina he was made a captain, and in the interval lieutenant of the first company of a regiment of horse. When the enemy attacked the post of Libisso his right hand was shot away by a grenade, and he was taken prisoner and conducted to Metasse, where he was detained six months and then exchanged for the son of the governor of that place. He then went to France to obtain some favor from his majesty, and the king granted him three hundred livres. He returned to the service in Sicily, made the campaign as a volunteer in the galleys, and when the troops were discharged, being unable to obtain employment he solicited at court, on account of the general peace, he decided in 1678 to join the late Monsieur de La Salle, in order to accompany him in the discoveries of Mexico, during which until 1682, he was the only officer who did not abandon him.

These discoveries being finished, he remained in 1683, commandant of Fort St. Louis of the Illinois; and, in 1684, he was there at-

tacked by two hundred Iroquois, whom he repulsed with great loss on their side. During the same year he repaired to Quebec under the orders of M. de la Barre. In 1685 he returned to the Illinois, according to the orders which he received from the court, and from M. de La Salle, as a captain of foot in a marine detachment, and governor, of Fort St. Louis. In 1686 he went with forty men in canoes at his own expense, as far as the Gulf of Mexico to seek for M. de La Salle. Not being able to find him there, he returned to Montreal and put himself under the orders of Monsieur Denonville, to engage in the war with the Iroquois. At the head of a band of Indians, in 1687, he proceeded two hundred leagues by land, and as far in canoes, and joined the army, when, with these Indians and a company of Canadians, he forced the ambuscade of the Tsonnonthouans.

The campaign over, he returned to the Illinois, whence he departed in 1689, to go in search of the remains of M. de La Salle's colony; but, being deserted by his men, and unable to execute his design, he was compelled to relinquish it, when he had arrived within seven days' march of the Spaniards. Ten months were spent in going and returning. As he now finds himself without employment, he prays that, in consideration of his voyages and heavy expenses, and considering also that during his service of seven years as captain he has not received any pay, your highness will be pleased to obtain from his majesty a company, with which he may continue his service in this country, where he has not ceased to harass the Iroquois by enlisting the Illinois against them in his majesty's cause.

And he will continue his prayers for the health of your highness.

HENRY DE TONTI.¹

The Count de Frontenac was still living and strongly indorsed the petition as follows:

Nothing can be more true than the account given by the Sieur de Tonti in this petition; and should his majesty reinstate the seven companies which have been disbanded into this country, there will be justice in granting one of them to him, or some other recompense for the services which he has rendered, and which he is now returning to render, at Fort St. Louis of the Illinois.

FRONTENAC.²

De La Forest also petitioned the King for joint ownership of Fort St. Louis. His petition follows:

THE SIRE DE LA FOREST

ASKS FOR THE PROPERTY OF THE FORT OF ST. LOUIS IN COMMON
WITH HENRY DE TONTI

The Sire de La Forest represents that he has been obliged to go to France to explain the conditions at the Fort of St. Louis and that

¹ Legler—*The Man With the Iron Hand*, p. 43.

² Ibidem.

of the Illinois, where the Sire de Tonti and he had been abandoned without help of any kind since the departure of the Sire de La Salle, and where, in spite of that, he had kept all the people in that vicinity obedient to the King, so that he was able to send two hundred men to M. de Denonville to war against the Iriquois; all this at the expense of M. de La Forest, for he has paid all the expenses of the expeditions which he commanded.

The said Sire de La Forest further represents that he was sent to Canada in 1684, as captain to a troupe of Marines; that he received his pay for the year 1684 only, and that the pay for the succeeding five years are due him; that, since the Sire La Salle received the order to construct the Fort of St. Louis in the country of the Illinois, he had been proposed as Commandant, and that the Sire de Tonti and himself had between them kept all the expenses up, kept the Fort in good order, defended and enlarged it, continued and augmented commercial relations, and that the parties of Frenchmen and Illinois that he sent to wage war upon the Iroquois killed ninety-six of them and sent their scalps to the Fort of St. Louis.

The Sire de La Forest begs, if it pleases the King, that he be paid the money which is owing to him.

He offers to continue at the said Fort St. Louis the same functions, together with the said Sire de Tonti, if it pleases his Majesty to afford him the same privileges as to the Sire de La Salle, deceased, this post being one of great importance in Canada, and offers also to guarantee to keep all the neighboring people obedient to the King and friendly to each other. If His Majesty agrees to this proposition, and accepts his services, he further agrees to use all the fortune of which he is possessed and all the credit which he may have and all of the influence of his friends and relatives, to keep up the Fort in the best possible shape and to sustain the commerce. And, as His Majesty has not been informed of the particulars of the voyage of the Sire La Salle, nor of the fate of the Frenchmen who were with him, he offers to go to the place where they were last heard of in order to find out all possible details and to give an exact account thereafter of the conditions as discovered, if His Majesty will be pleased to give him the necessary funds to finance the voyage.

The young lady, Miss Tonti, in a letter begs His Majesty to read with attention the papers presented to him touching on affairs in the country of the Illinois, so that, in consideration of the services rendered him by the Sire Henry Tonti, one of her brothers, and the Sire de La Forest, for so many years, His Majesty will order that their pay may be given them so that they may pay their debts and be able to sustain their posts and continue commercial relations in the country.

The Marquis de Denonville made a certificate that the Sires Tonti and de La Forest, captains in the Marine Corps, served, under the orders of M. de La Barre and his own, always paying their own expenses, and that they received only their first year's pay, in 1684, and that in 1687 they came to join him at the Fort of Frontenac, at

the head of a number of Frenchmen and savages which they had brought from the country of the Illinois, about five hundred leagues from there, which they could not so do without spending a large sum of money; that, after having chosen them the next year to command when the Sonnontouans attacked the Fort, they made a show of great valor, intelligence and honesty upon that and every other occasion which came up, without having ever received any money in payment of the large sums which they were obliged to spend.

The Sire de Denonville, says in his certificate that it would be very difficult to find anyone to go in search of those whom the Sire La Salle left on the coasts of Mexico.

The petitions were granted on orders as follows:

GIFT OF GROUND

OF THE FORT OF ST. LOUIS OF THE ILLINOIS, TO SIRE DE TONTI AND
DE LA FOREST UNDER THE SAME CONDITIONS AS WHEN
GIVEN TO SIRE DE LA SALLE

Versailles, July 14, 1690.

The King, sitting with his council, issued letters the 20th of May, 1676, giving power to the Governor and Lieut. Governor and to the Commissioner of Justice, Police and Finance, of said county to give concessions of ground as well to the newcomers as to the old inhabitants of the country if they will register the land that same year and they are obliged to plow and till the ground for six years from the date of registration under pain of annulment; these letters were registered at the Sovereign Council of Canada, October 19, 1676, stating the concessions given by the Sire de Denonville, Governor and Lieutenant Governor and by the Sire de Champigny, Commissioner of Justice, Police and Finance in said country from the 15th of November, 1688, until the 15th of October, 1689, of many hills, valleys, islands and rivers. * * * * *

There was also a request presented to His Majesty by the Sires de La Forest and Tonti asking if it would please His Majesty to accord them the establishment made at the Fort St. Louis by the Sire La Salle which they have kept up since his death at great expense and care and His Majesty wishing to confirm the said concessions so that they might enjoy them peacefully and forever, assures possession to the said de La Forest and Tonti of the establishment made by Sire La Salle and orders them to continue to work with even greater application and to maintain and enlarge the establishment.

His Majesty, sitting with His Council, confirmed the concessions made to the Sires. * * * * *

His Majesty also orders the said Sires de La Forest and Tonti to take possession of the Fort of St. Louis at Illinois and of the land given to the Sire La Salle under the same terms and conditions as those in the concession made to him and letters of confirmation and all other necessary letters will be sent to them. His Majesty wishes

that this document together with the said concessions be registered at the Sovereign Council at Quebec so that it can be consulted if necessary.

Passed by the Council of State of the King, His Majesty being present, held at Versailles, the 14th day of July, 1690.³

Conjointly therefore with La Forest, Tonti was granted the proprietorship of Fort St. Louis, carrying with it the right to trade in the country, and he remained at the old Fort while La Forest took up his station at Chicago.

The policy of federation and pacification of the Indian tribes was continued, and it seems fair to state that on the plains of Illinois surrounding the Fort on the Rock was gathered the first and only successful federation of Indian tribes that ever existed on the American Continent. Other leagues had been before that time and were afterwards formed, but all others had for their object war or aggression. Tonti's was the first league of nations for peace.

It is truly regrettable that the record of the ten years of Tonti's reign succeeding the death of La Salle are so scant and unsatisfactory. Virtually all that is known of the events of these years, is what can be found in the letters and reports of the missionaries who labored in the vicinity. Father Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., came to the territory in the days of La Salle, and he was succeeded by Father James Gravier, S. J., and before the end of Tonti's reign, Fathers Pinet, Bine-teau and Marest, all Jesuits, had come to the locality. The Fathers of the Foreign Missions from Canada, Cosme, Montigny and Davion also reached the territory in Tonti's time.

None of the missionaries tell us much of the conditions of government or settlement at the fort, but they are unanimous in praise of Tonti. It is to be remembered that both Allouez and Cravier came to the country in company with Tonti and enjoyed his protection, and the Fathers of the Foreign Missions were met and escorted through the State by him.

Much has been written to the effect that there was enmity between La Salle and the Jesuits. Writers insist that the Jesuits thwarted La Salle's plans, and conjecture that the Jesuits feared La Salle and were opposed to his policies. In this connection it has been pointed out that Father Allouez left Fort St. Louis when he heard that La Salle was coming there, and writers argue that this incident and some others which have been brought forward are evidence of fear or hatred on the part of the Jesuits. In the same connection it is frequently stated that the Jesuits were jealous of the Recollects, and

³ Margery, p. 51.

later of the Fathers of the Foreign Missions and Capuchins, but the records do not disclose any unreasonable conduct on the part of the Jesuits. They were the first in the field, and made supreme sacrifices to open up the territory, and naturally felt that they were entitled to some consideration on that account. They never permitted their feelings in this regard to carry them beyond action or dignified protest, however. On the other hand, the letters and reports of contemporaries are replete with incidents of the highest courtesy extended by the Jesuits to representatives of the other orders.

Nor is there anything in available data to warrant the conclusion some writers have drawn as to the Jesuits opposing La Salle's projects. The manner in which Tonti, La Salle's lieutenant during the lifetime of the latter, always received and aided the Jesuits, and the extreme cordiality that existed between them would indicate that there was not the mutual aversion between La Salle and the Jesuits that we are told existed, else his representative would not go to such extremes to serve the Jesuits.

There was really, however, a cause of contention between the Jesuits and all the traders in which class La Salle and his people must be cataloged. These traders were seeking their own aggrandizement. The principal project of the expeditions undertaken was commerce with the Indians, and the traders were far from scrupulous in their dealings. But more than that—they carried on a liquor traffic with the Indians that was very obnoxious to the Jesuit Missionaries and tended to neutralize all their missionary endeavors.

From the very earliest days of the dealings with the Indians in this country, the Jesuits set their faces against the pernicious practice of the traders in furnishing the Indians with liquor, and their persistent opposition was the cause of constantly recurring clashes between the tradespeople and the missionaries. Not sufficient credit has been given the missionaries for the war they always waged against the liquor traffic, which was in reality the ruin of the Indian tribes. It should perhaps be stated that not all of the exploiters of Indian trade were subject to criticism with respect to the liquor traffic, and it is pleasant to recall that Joliet, Father Marquette's companion in the first voyage of discovery, was a stern opponent of the practice. By royal command a council was held in Quebec in 1678 to consider the subject of the traffic in brandy with the Indians. The assembly was composed of the principal officers and ten of the oldest and most prominent inhabitants of the colony, amongst whom was Joliet. Their advice was asked in turn and some favored the traffic, but Joliet

strongly denounced it and held that in the woods and among the savages it should be prohibited under pain of death.⁴

It never was effectively prohibited, however, and the Jesuit war against the liquor traffic with the Indians fills many chapters of the true history of New France, and to this and other objections to trade relations, may be ascribed the differences, such as existed, between the Jesuits and La Salle.

It would be interesting to recite the intimate story of the Fort St. Louis settlement. Some writers have drawn upon their imagination in picturing the life on the summit of the Big Rock, and stray references have enabled us to identify some of the French residents of the district, amongst whom we find names that later became prominent or familiar in the history of Illinois. There is excellent reason for believing that many of the French, and indeed, many of the Indians, prospered, and that amongst the savages civilization was very greatly advanced.

For this period we have a letter from Father Gravier, the Vicar-General himself, written from his missionary site at Peoria. This letter is dated February 15th, 1694.

In the discharge of his duties as Missionary and Vicar-General, he had spent the previous winter amongst the Miami, but when he returned to the Kaskaskia village, he found that the Kaskaskia Indians had moved down to the neighborhood of Peoria Lake. He accordingly had to make special accommodations for them and built a new chapel outside of the fort. This chapel he blessed during the month of April, and probably for the first time on Illinois soil, a special demonstration was made for the completion and dedication of a church. Father Gravier says that:

On the eve before blessing the chapel and Cross, which is nearly thirty-five feet high, I invited the French to be good enough to be present. They promised to be there and to manifest in public the honor in which they held it. They showed the Savages by four volleys from their guns their veneration for this symbol of their salvation.⁵

Father Gravier tells us, too, of what was perhaps the first trade conference concerning Illinois' interests.

About the middle of May, says he, the deputies of the Savages of this village accompanied by two Frenchmen went to seek the alliance of the Missouris and of the Osages. These French merchants

⁴ Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*, p. 37.

⁵ Thwaites—*Jesuit Relations*, LXIV, p. 161.

with the view of carrying on an advantageous trade with those tribes, made some proposals of peace to them. To these they agreed solely out of complaisance to the French, through consideration for whom they became reconciled with the Osages.⁶

* * * *

About the 20th of June, the French and the Savages who had left here during the previous month to seek the alliance of the *Osages* and *Missouris*, in the expectation of the great profits that they would derive from the trade with the latter, came back with two chiefs from each village, accompanied by some elders and some women. Although these merchants in all the dealings of any extent that they have with Savages, care very little about telling them of God and of the missionary, the visitors all came, nevertheless, to see me, and I welcomed them as heartily as I could. I took them to the chapel and talked to them as if they understood me well; they were present at Mass and behaved with great modesty, following the example of the *Illinois*—whom they heard me instruct on several occasions, and cause to offer prayers to God. They manifested great joy when I led them to hope that I would go to see them, to give them sense—such is the expression that they use. But, as I am alone, I cannot assist or visit the other villages of the *Illinois*, which are on the banks of the Mississippi river. The *Osages* and the *Missouri* do not appear to be a quick-witted as the *Illinois*; their language does not seem very difficult. The former do not open their lips, and the latter speak still more from the throat than they.⁷

Father Gravier relates at length the troubles which he endured on account of the Manitous or Medicine Men and the effect these troubles had on his mission.

There was summer complaint in those days, too. Father Gravier says:

Disease broke out in this village in the month of August,—that is, after they began to eat new corn, squashes, watermelons and other half ripe fruit. Many children and young people were sick, and I had not as free access to all of them as I would have wished.

A determined attempt was made by some of the inhabitants to exterminate the mission and drive Father Gravier away, but by dint of his courage and address and the help of the chief's daughter especially, the sturdy old missionary won for the time.

The principal part of this very long letter is devoted to a relation of the conversion, sacrificial marriage and virtues of the daughter of the Chief, Amipintchicou. Michael Accau, who, it will be remembered, accompanied Father Louis Hennepin from Peoria down the

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Ibidem, 169-71.

Illinois River to the Mississippi, and up the Mississippi to St. Anthony's Falls, returned to Peoria and became enamored of the chief's daughter, a beautiful Indian maiden only seventeen years old. She seriously objected to marriage, as she had been converted to the Faith and proposed to dedicate her life to the service of religion. Her parents desiring her to marry a Frenchman for the benefit supposed to accrue from an alliance with the French, insisted persistently upon her marriage. She confided in Father Gravier, and the stout old missionary sustained her in her position. At the end, after much prayer, she concluded that she might be able to render a greater service to the Church by marrying Accau and thus pleasing her parents and her people, and possibly through her influence reforming Accau and helping to spread the Faith amongst the Indian villagers. Father Gravier approved her course, and so the marriage took place. The good missionary was able to record that all the benefits which the devout girl had anticipated really accrued.

The Chief of the Kaskaskias and his wife, says Father Gravier, ever since the marriage of their daughter with a Frenchman, have been very assiduous at the instructions and have begged me to prepare them for baptism. * * * * These two worthy Savages reflected so seriously upon all that their son-in-law and daughter told them, that without speaking of it to me, they agreed that the chief should publicly declare the resolution which he had taken to become a Christian. To make this act more solemn he gave a feast to the chiefs of all the villages and to the most notable among the Peorias, all famous jugglers; he openly renounced all their superstitions, and urged them in a rather long harangue to be no longer the enemies of their own happiness by resisting the grace of Christianity which God was offering to them through my instrumentality. * * * * The same evening, his wife gave a feast to all the women of her village to inform them also that she intended to become a Christian. * * * * From that time they urged me to baptize them. I granted them that favor after they had given me several proofs of their desire to perform the duties of Christians. To make the ceremony of their baptismal more profitable and more imposing, I proclaimed throughout the village that all were to be present at their baptism. I was very glad that many witnessed it. I took advantage of the occasion to exhort the others to imitate them.

This good Indian girl of whom it has been said it was expected by the early missionaries she would become another Rose of Lima, not only did much to lead her people to the way of salvation, but had the distinction of being the mother of the first child whose baptismal record appears upon the records remaining of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin established by Father Marquette, after the removal to the southern part of the state.

Summing up the results of his mission, Father Gravier says:

My sins and the malice of men have not prevented God from pouring down abundant blessings on this mission of the Illinois. It has been augmented by two hundred and six souls whom I baptized between the 30th of March and 29th of November, 1693. Many children among that number are already in heaven and pray to God for their parents' conversion. Since the chief of the *Kaskaskia* has been baptized with his wife and family, consisting of fifteen persons, he blushes not for the gospel, and ceases not to exhort and instruct the young men of his village night and day. I observe, thanks be to God, that he is listened to as well as his wife, who is ever in the chapel at the head of all those of her sex.

* * * *

Pray to God, my Reverend Father, to preserve the neophyte chief, his wife, his family, and his son-in-law in their first fervor.

We have fortunately been left a graphic picture of the country near the end of Tonti's administration, which, while it does not give us some details that would be most interesting, nevertheless, supplies a very important chapter in the history of Illinois.

The distinguished Canadian Bishop De Laval who established the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Quebec, had very much at heart the evangelizing of the Indians in the interior of the country, and his successor, Bishop De St. Valier, sent three able priests ordained at the seminary down through the lakes and over Illinois. It is especially interesting to know that Tonti met these missionaries and conducted them all through Illinois and to the lower Mississippi. One of the ablest of these, Reverend John Francis Buisson de St. Cosme, wrote a very interesting account of this missionary trip, part of which, of greatest interest in Illinois, is as follows. Arriving near Chicago, the Father says:

We went by land, Mr. de Montigny, Davion and myself, to the house of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, our people staying with the baggage. We found there Rev. Father Pinet and Rev. Father Bine-teau, who had recently come in from the Illinois and were slightly sick.

I cannot explain to you, Monseigneur, with what cordiality and marks of esteem these reverend Jesuit Fathers received and caressed us during the time that we had the consolation of staying with them. Their house is built on the banks of the small lake, having the river on one side and a fine large prairie on the other. The Indian village is of over 150 cabins, and one league on the river there is another village almost as large. They are both of the Miamis. Reverend Father

⁸ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 233-237.

Pinet makes it his ordinary residence except in winter, when the Indians all go hunting, and which he goes and spends at the Illinois. We saw no Indians there, they had already started for their hunt. If we may judge of the future by the little while that Father Pinet has been on this mission, we may say that God blesses the labors and zeal of this holy missionary. There will be a great number of good and fervent Christians there. It is true that little fruit is produced there in those who have grown up and hardened in debauchery, but the children are baptized and even the medicine men, most opposed to Christianity, allow their children to be baptized. They are even very glad to have them instructed. Many girls already grown up and many young boys are being instructed, so that it may be hoped that when the old stock dies off there will be a new Christian people.

On the 24th, of October, the wind having fallen, we made our canoes come with all our baggage, and perceiving that the waters were extremely low we made a cache on the shore and took only what was absolutely necessary for our voyage, reserving till spring to send for the rest, and we left in charge of it Brother Alexander, who consented to remain there with Father Pinet's man, and we started from Chicago on the 29th, and put up for the night about two leagues off, in the little river which is then lost in the prairies. The next day we began the portage, which is about three leagues long when the water is low, and only a quarter of a league in the spring, for you embark on a little lake that empties into a branch of the river of the Illinois, and when the waters are low you have to make a portage to that branch. We made half our portage that day, and we should have made some progress further, when we perceived that a little boy whom we had received from Mr. de Muys, having started on alone, although he had been told to wait, had got lost without any one paying attention to it, all hands being engaged. We were obliged to stop and look for him. All set out, we fired several guns, but could not find him. It was a very unfortunate mishap, we were pressed by the season and the waters being very low, we saw well that being obliged to carry our effects and our canoe it would take us a great while to reach the Illinois. This made us part company, Mr. de Montigny, de Tonti and Davion, continued the portage next day, and I with four other men returned to look for this little boy, and on my way back I met Fathers Pinet and Bineteau who were going with two Frenchmen and one Indian to the Illinois. We looked for him again all that day without being able to find him. As next day was the feast of All Saints this obliged me to go and pass the night at Chicago with our people, who having heard mass and performed their devotions early, we spent all that day too in looking for that little boy without being able to get the least trace. It was very difficult to find him in the tall grass, for the whole country is prairies; you meet only some clumps of woods. As the grass was high we durst not set fire to it for fear of burning him. Mr. de Montigny had told me not to stay over a day, because the cold was becoming severe; this obliged me to start after giving Brother Alexander directions to look for him and to take some of the French who were at Chicago.

I set out the second of November in the afternoon, made the portage, and slept at the river of the Illinois; we went down the river to an island. During the night we were surprised to see an inch of snow and the next day the river frozen in several places, yet we had to break the ice and drag the canoe, because there was no water; this forced us to leave our canoe and go in search of Mr. de Montigny, whom we overtook the next day, the 5th of the month, at Stag Island (Isle aux Cerfs). They had already made two leagues portage, and there were still four to make to Mount Joliet, which we made in three days and arrived on the 8th of the month. From Isle a la Cache to Mount Joliet is the space of seven leagues. You must always make a portage, there being no water in the river except in the spring. All along this river is very agreeable. It is prairies skirted by hills and very fine woods, where there are numbers of deer as well as on the river. There is abundance of game of all kinds, so that one of our men strolling around after making the portage, killed enough to give us a plentiful supper and breakfast next morning. Mount Joliet is a mound of earth in the prairie, on the right as you go down, slightly elevated, about thirty feet. The Indians say that at the time of a great deluge one of their ancestors escaped, and that this little mountain is his canoe which he turned over there. On leaving Mount Joliet we made about two leagues to another little portage of about a quarter of a league. As one of our men, named Charbonneau, had killed several turkeys and geese in the morning and a deer, we did well to give somewhat of a treat to our people and let them rest for a day.

On the 10th, we made the little portage and found half a league of water, and then two men towed the canoe for a league; the rest marched on land, each with his pack, and we embarked for the space of a league and a half and stopped for the night at a little portage, five or six arpens off.

On the 11th, after making the little portage, we came to the river Tealike, which is the real river of the Illinois; that which we had descended being only a branch. We put all our affairs in the canoe, which two men towed, while Mr. de Tonti and we with the rest of our men marched on land, always through beautiful prairies. We arrived at the village of the Panzichias Miamis who formerly dwelt on the banks of the Mississippi and who some years since came and settled in this place. There was no one in the village, all having gone out hunting. We went that day to halt near Massacre, which is a little river that empties into the river of the Illinois. It was from this day that we began to have buffalo, and the next day two of our men killed four, but as these animals are lean at this season, they contented themselves with taking the tongues. These cattle seem to me larger than ours; they have a hump on the back, the legs are very short, the head very large and so covered with long hair, that it is said a ball cannot penetrate it. We afterwards saw them almost every day during our voyage to the Arkansas.

After having had to carry our baggage for three days, and put it all together in the canoe, the river being low and full of rocks, we arrived on the 15th of November at the place called the Old Fort. It

is a rock which is on the banks of the river about a hundred feet high, where Mr. de La Salle built a fort which he abandoned. The Indians having gone to stay about twenty-five leagues lower down, we slept a league below, where we found two Indian cabins. We were consoled to see one perfectly good Christian woman.

From Chicago to the fort they reckon thirty leagues. Here navigation begins, which continues uninterrupted to the Fort of the Per-mavevvi, where the Indians are now. We arrived there on the 19th of November. We found R. Father Pinet there, who not being loaded when they started from Chicago had arrived here six or seven days before us. We also saw there Rev. Father Marest, a Jesuit. All the reverend Fathers gave us all possible welcome. Their only regret was to see us start so soon, on account of the frosts. We there took a Frenchman who had spent three years at the Akanas and who knows the language a little.

This Illinois mission seems to me the finest that Jesuit Fathers have up here, for without counting all the children who are baptized, there are many grown persons who have abandoned all their superstitions and live as perfectly good Christians, frequenting the sacraments, and are married in the church. We had not the consolation of seeing all these good Christians, for they were all dispersed going down the bank of the river to hunt. We saw there only some Indian women married to Frenchmen, who edified us by their modesty and by their assiduity in going several times a day to the chapel to pray. We sang High Mass there with deacon and subdeacon, on the day of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, and after commending our voyage to her, and placing ourselves under her protection, we started from the Illinois.

On the 22nd of November we had to break the ice for two or three arpens to get out of the lake of Peoria. We were four canoes, Mr. de Tonti's, our two, and another (of five?) young voyageurs who chose to accompany us, partly on account of Mr. de Tonti, who is generally loved by all the voyageurs, partly also to see the country. Rev. Fathers Bineteau and Pinet also joined us for a part of the way, wishing to go and spend the whole winter with their Indians.

The first day after our departure we found the cabin of Rouen-fas, the most considerable of the Illinois chiefs. He is a very good Christian and received us politely, not like a barbarian, but like a well bred Frenchman; he took us to his cabin and forced us to spend the night there. He made us a present of three deer, one of which he gave to the Father, the other to Mr. de Tonti, and the third to us. We there learned that the Charanon, the Chekaihas, the Karkinopols had surprized the Kawkias, an Illinois nation that is about five or six leagues below the mouth of the River of the Illinois along the Mississippi. They had killed ten men, taken nearly 100 slaves, as well women as children. As this Rouenfas has much talent, we thought ourselves obliged to make him some present to induce him to favor our passage through the Illinois nations, not so much for this first voyage as for the others, when we might be in less force, for all these peoples up here are much inclined and easily conceive jealousy when one goes

to other nations. We therefore gave him a belt to show him that we contracted an alliance with him, and with all his nation, and that he being a Christian should have no greater pleasure than to see other nations partake of the happiness that he enjoyed, and that to this end he was bound to facilitate as much as he could the design of the missionaries who were going to instruct them. We then made him a little present of powder.

On the 23d, in the morning, after saying our masses, where Rouenfas and his family received at Mr. de Montigny's mass, we set out and came to a little Indian village where we landed. The chief, by name the Bear, told us that it was not apropos for us to go to the Mississippi, but Mr. de Tonti gained or intimidated him by these words, telling him that we were envoys from the Master of Life, who is the king, and of the great master of the river, to instruct those Indians where we were going, and that he was spared by the Governor to accompany us, so that to give us any trouble would be to attack the Governor in person. As he made no reply to these words we embarked, and on the 24th, we went to pass the night at another village of several cabins, where we found the one called Tivet, once a famous chief in his nation, but of late abandoned by almost all his people. He made many complaints to Mr. de Tonti, who reproached him with the fact that it was his misconduct that drew on him the hatred of his people, and that he had long promised to give up his jugglery (for he is a famous medicine man), but that he had done nothing of the kind. He was afterwards there at prayers, and the Indian promised to be instructed.

The next day, March 25th, we parted with Rev. Father Pinet, who remains in this village to pass the winter, for there was a good number of praying Indians, and on the 26th, we found a village, the chief of which was hunting with all his young men. Some old men came to meet us, weeping for the death of their people defeated by the Chaoanons. They told us that we did not do well to go through the Carrechias with the Chauanons, to whom, they said, Mr. de Tonti had given arms and had attacked them. Mr. de Tonti replied that it was over three years since he left the Illinois, and that he could not have seen the Chauanons to give them arms, but as the Indians continued constantly saying many unreasonable things, we saw that they were not well disposed and that we should start as soon as possible, before the youth, who were to arrive next morning, came in. We accordingly left abruptly, Mr. de Tonti telling them that he did not fear men. They told us that they bewailed our youth, who would be killed. Mr. de Tonti replied that he could kill men. It must be avowed that the Indians have a very great esteem for him; it is enough for him to be in a party to prevent their offering any insult. We embarked at once and went to pass the night five or six leagues from this village. The next day we were detained a part of the day by reason of a great quantity of ice that was floating in the river.

On the 28th, we landed at a village where there were about twenty cabins. We there saw the chief's wife. This woman is very influential in the nation on account of her talent and liberality, and

because having many sons and sons-in-law, all hunters, she often gives banquets, which is a means of soon acquiring influence among these Indians and all their nations. We said mass in the village in the cabin of a soldier named La Violette, married to a squaw, whose child Me. de Montigny baptized. Mr. de Tonti related to this chief-tainness what they had said to us in the last village. She disapproved it all and told him that all the nation felt great joy to see him and us too, but what grieved her was not to be sure of seeing her again and possessing her longer.

We left this village and made about eight leagues. From the 29th of November to the 3d of December we were detained at the same place by the ice, by which the river was entirely blocked up. During all this time we had provisions in plenty, for one cannot fast on this river, so abundant is it in game of all kinds, swans, geese, ducks. It is skirted by very fine woods, which are not very large, so that you sometimes meet fine prairies where there are numbers of deer. Charbonneau killed several while we were detained. Others also killed some. The navigation of this river is not very good when the water is low. We were sometimes obliged to march with a part of our people while the others conducted the canoes, not without difficulty, being sometimes obliged to get into the water which was already very cold. During our delay, Father Bineteau, whom we had left at the village of the chief's wife, came to see us and after spending a day with us returned to the village for the Feast of St. Francis Xavier. On that day a high wind having broken a part of the ice we made about two leagues. The next day, having taken wooden canoes at five Indian cabins, we broke about three or four arpens of ice that blocked up the river, and was about four inches thick and bore men on it. Then we had navigation free to the Mississippi, where we arrived on the 5th of December, after having made about eight leagues from the Fort of Penitenti.

Mississippi is a large and beautiful river, that comes from the north. It divides into several channels at the part where the river of the Illinois empties, which forms very beautiful islands. It makes several bends but seems to me to keep always the same direction to the south as far as the Akansas. It is lined by very fine forests. The bank on both sides appears about thirty feet high, which does not prevent its inundating far into the woods in the spring when the waters are high, except some hills or very elevated spots occasionally met with. You find all along great quantities of buffalo, bear, deer. You also see a very great number of birds. We always had so great a quantity of meat along this river as far as the Akansas, that we passed several herds of buffalo without caring to fire at them.

On the 6th of December we embarked on the Mississippi. After making about six leagues we found the great river of the Missouri which comes from the west, and which is so muddy that it spoils the waters of the Mississippi, which down to this river are very clear. It is said that there are up this mountain (river?) a great number of Indians. Three or four leagues (further) we found on the left a rock having some figures painted on it, for which it is said, the Indians

have some veneration. They are now almost effaced. We went that day to Kavvechias (Cahokias), who were still mourning over the blow inflicted on them by the Chikakas and Chouanous; they all began to weep on our arrival. They did not seem to us so hostile or ill disposed as some Illinois Indians had told us of these poor people, who excited more our compassion than our fear.

The next day about noon we reached the Tamarois. The Indians had been early notified of our coming by another who had started from the Akansas to carry them the news. As they had given trouble to some of Mr. de Tonti's men a year before, they were afraid, and all the women and children fled from the village; but we did not go to it, as we wished to prepare for the feast of the Conception, we cabined on the other side of the river on the right. Mr. de Tonti went to the village and having reassured them a little, he brought us the chief who begged us to go and see him in his village. We promised to do so and next day, Feast of the Conception, after saying our Masses we went with Mr. de Tonti and seven of our men well armed. They came to receive us and took us to the chief's cabin. All the women and children were there, and we were no sooner there than the young folks and women broke in a part to be able to see us. They had never seen any Black Gown except for a few days the Rev. Father Gravier, who had paid them a visit. They gave us a meal, and we made them a little present as we had done to the Carrechias. We told them that it was to show them that we had a well made heart, and that we wished to contract an alliance with them, so that they should kindly receive our people who often passed there, and that they should give them food. They received it with many thanks and then we returned. The Tamarois were cabined on an island lower down than their village, which is on the edge of a prairie, is somewhat distant; perhaps too for fear of their enemies. We could not well see whether they were very numerous. They seemed to us quite so, although the greater part of their people were hunting. There was wherewith to form a fine mission by bringing here the Kavvechias, who are quite near, and the Michigamias, who are a little lower down on the Mississippi, and said to be quite numerous. We did not see them as they had gone inland to hunt. The three villages speak Illinois.

We left Tamarois on the 8th of December, in the afternoon. On the 10th, we saw a hill which is about three arpents distance from the Mississippi on the right hand going down. After being detained a part of the 11th, by the rain, we arrived early on the 12th, at Cape St. Antoine, where we remained that day and all the next to get pitch, which we needed. There are many pines from Cape St. Antoine to a river lower down, and it is the only spot where I saw any from Chicago to the Akansas. Cape St. Antoine is a rock on the left as you go down. Some arpents below there is another rock on the right which advances into the river, and forms an island, or rather a rock about 200 feet high, which making the river turn back very abruptly and narrowing the channel forms a kind of whirlpool there, where it is said a canoe is engulfed at the high waters. Fourteen Miamis were once lost there, which has rendered the spot fearful among the

Indians, so that they are accustomed to make some sacrifices to this rock when they pass. We saw no figure there as we had been told. You ascend this island and rock by a hill with considerable difficulty. On it we planted a beautiful cross, singing the *Vexilla Regis*, and our people fired three volleys of musketry. God grant that the cross which has never been known in these regions, may triumph there and our Lord pour forth abundantly on them the merits of His holy passion, that all the Indians may know and serve him. At Cape St. Antoine you begin to find canes. There is also a kind of large tree like the whitewood, which exuded a gum of very good odor; you find too all along the Mississippi a quantity of fruit trees unknown in Canada, the fruit of which (persimmons) is excellent. We found sometimes fruit still on the trees. I had forgotten to note here that (since) we were on the Mississippi we did not perceive that we were in winter, and the more we descended the greater heat we found, yet the nights are cool.

We left Cape St. Antoine on the 14th of December, and on the 15th, we halted for the night one league below the Wabash (Ohio), a large and beautiful river which is on the left of the Mississippi and comes from towards the north, and is they say, five hundred leagues long, and rises near the Sonontuans. They go by this river to the Chauanons, who trade with the English.

On the 16th, we started from the Wabash (Ohio), and nothing special befel us, nor did we find anything remarkable till the Akansas, except that we found a certain bird, (pelican) as large as a swan, which has the bill about a foot long, and the throat of extraordinary size, so large in some, they say, that it would hold a bushel of wheat. The one that we took was a small one and would easily have held in his throat half a bushel. They say that this bird gets in the current, and opening his large bill (takes the fish) that thrust themselves into his gullet. Our Frenchmen call this bird Chibek. (The Grandgozier or Pelican.) On the 22nd, we found a small river on the left going down, which is said to be the road to go to the Chickashaws, who are a large nation, and it is supposed that it is not very far from this little river to their villages.

On the 24th, we cabined early so that our people might prepare for the great feast of Christmas. We made a little chapel; we sang a high Mass at midnight where our people and all the French attend their duties. Christmas day was spent in saying our Masses, all which our people heard and in the afternoon we chanted Vespers. We were greatly astonished to see the earth tremble at one o'clock in the afternoon, and although this earthquake did not last long, it was violent enough for all to perceive it easily. We started next day a little late, because we had to wait for an Indian boy that Mr. de Tonti had, who went into the woods the day before to look for fruit and got lost. We thought that he might have been taken by some Chickasas warriors, which obliged us to keep watch and ward all night, but we were quite glad to see him come back next morning. We set out and went to cabin for the night near the spot where the Kappas, a nation of the Akansas were formerly.

On St. John's day, after making about five leagues, we saw some wooden canoes and an Indian on the water's edge; as we were near and were afraid that he would take to flight on seeing us, one of our men took the calumet and sung. He was heard at the village which was quite near; a part ran away, the others brought the calumet and came to receive us at the water's edge. They rubbed us when we came up and then rubbed themselves, a mark of esteem among the Indians. They took us on their shoulders and carried us to a chief's cabin. There was a hill of potter's clay to get up and the one that carried sank under his burden. I was afraid that he would let me fall and so I got down in spite of him and went up the hill, but as soon as I got to the top I had absolutely to get on his back and be carried to the cabin. Some time after they came to chant the Calumet for us, and the next afternoon they carried us to another cabin, where making Mr. de Tonti and us also sit down on bear skins, and four chiefs having each taken a calumet that they had placed before us, the others began to sing, striking on a kind of drum, made of earthen pots over which they place a skin; they hold in their hands a gourd with pebbles in it, which makes a noise, and then chant according with the sound of these drums, and the sound of these gourds. This makes a music which is not the most agreeable, while an Indian who was behind rocked us. We were soon disgusted with this ceremony, which they perform for all strangers, as they esteem it and you must suffer it or pass for being ill disposed and having bad designs. We put some of our people in our place after staying there a little while, and they had the pleasure of being rocked all night. The next day they made us a present of a little salve and some skins, which we repaid by another present of knives and other things that they esteem highly. We were much consoled to see ourselves in the (proposed) places of our missions, but we were sensibly afflicted to see this Akansas nation once so numerous entirely destroyed by war and sickness. It is not a month since they got over the smallpox which carried off the greatest part of them. There was nothing to be seen in the village but graves. There were two (tribes) together there and we estimated that there were not a hundred men; all the children and a great part of the women were dead. These Indians seem of very good disposition. We were every moment invited to feasts. They possess extraordinary fidelity. They transported all we had to a cabin, and it remained there for two days without anything being taken, and for ourselves there was nothing lost. One of our men having forgotten his knife in a cabin, an Indian came at once to restore it. Polygamy is not common among them. Yet we saw in the village of the Kappas one of those wretched men who from their youth dress as women, serving for the most shameful vices, but this wretch was not of their nation: he was an Illinois, among whom this is quite common. These Indians have in abundance, corn, beans, squashes. As for hunting, being crushed by sickness and in constant fear of their enemies, we saw no signs of any in their village. They cabin like the Hurons, using large earthen pots instead of kettles and well made pitchers. They are quite naked except that when they go out they throw a buffalo

robe around them. The women and girls are like the Illinois half naked; they have a skin hanging down from the waist and reaching to the knees; some have a small deer skin like a scarf.

We remained in this village two days and a half, and after planting a cross that we told them was a sign of our union, we started on the 30th of November (December?) to go to their other village which is about nine leagues from this. It was a deep regret to part with Mr. de Tonti who could not go with us for several reasons. He would much have desired to bear us company to the other nations where we were going, but business called him back to the Illinois. He is the man that best knows the country. He has been twice to the sea; he has been twice far inland to the remotest nations; he is loved and feared everywhere. If they were exploring these parts, I do not think that they can confide it to a more experienced man than he is. Your grace, Monseigneur, will, I doubt not, take pleasure in acknowledging the obligations we owe him.⁹

There is some confusion in the letters and reports that makes it difficult to determine just what relation the Fort St. Louis and what we now know as Starved Rock bear to the fort which is known to have existed at various times near what is now Peoria. It is certain that both the Indians and French passed up and down between those points without considering the journey of much moment. Sometimes we read of a missionary or inhabitant of one place being at the other, and at one time the fort at Peoria is garrisoned and at another time deserted. But at The Rock "the military occupation of Illinois seems to have continued without interruption from the time when La Salle returned from Ft. Frontenac" down to 1699 or 1700 when the fort was discontinued by order of the French government, and La Forest was directed to return to Canada and Tonti ordered to join D'Iberville on the Mississippi river.

The secret of Tonti's removal to the lower Mississippi did not lie alone in the erroneous policy of the French government in abandoning the forts in and near Illinois, but more in the fact that the settlement and development of the lower Mississippi was urgent. Tonti had been the first to point out that it was unsafe to leave the lower Mississippi open and thus expose the interior of the country to conquest by the English who were pushing their claims to the West. And although the government turned a deaf ear to many of Tonti's suggestions, it nevertheless gave heed to this warning of English aggression and sent De Iberville to protect the mouth of the Mississippi river, and it was to assist him that Tonti was ordered South.

⁹ Shea, *Early Mississippi Voyages*, pp. 52-73.

¹⁰ Bancroft, *History of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 195.

The few years that he spent with the colony at Biloxi constitute another interesting story which is not directly connected with the story of Illinois. The reader will contemplate with grief, however, this bold pioneer's fate. In an epidemic of yellow fever Tonti spent himself nursing the afflicted, and finally contracted the contagion from which he died. But no man knows his grave. He played a part of vast importance in this life, measuring up to every duty and responsibility without worldly recompense and went to an unknown grave.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

TWO NOTABLE EVENTS IN CHICAGO ARCHDIOCESE

INSTALLATION OF RT. REV. E. F. HOBAN AS BISHOP OF ROCKFORD, AND
CONSECRATION OF RT. REV. B. J. SHEIL AS AUXILIARY
BISHOP OF CHICAGO

Two events of recent months served to make the Chicago archdiocese the center of ecclesiastical interest. One was the appointment of the Rt. Rev. Edward F. Hoban, D.D., as bishop of Rockford and his installation in his episcopal city. The other was the selection of the Rt. Rev. Bernard J. Sheil, D.D., one of the youngest prelates in the United States, as auxiliary bishop of Chicago and his consecration in Holy Name Cathedral.

It is coincident that Bishop Hoban as the successor of the Rt. Rev. P. J. Muldoon, D.D., first Bishop of Rockford, was selected by the Holy Father from the same post as his predecessor. It was 20 years ago that Bishop Muldoon went to Rockford, chosen to preside over that newly-formed see.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Hoban, like Bishop Sheil, is a native Chicagoan, born near the corner of Noble street. He received his early education under the Sisters at St. Columbkille's school, later attending St. Ignatius College. His studies for the priesthood were pursued at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. He was ordained July 11, 1903, by the Most Reverend J. E. Quigley, late archbishop of Chicago in the Cathedral of the Holy Name. For a brief period he served as assistant at St. Agnes church and later was chosen with other young priests to be sent to Rome to prepare for a place on the faculty of Quigley Preparatory Seminary, then in plan by Archbishop Quigley. While there he received the degree Doctor of Divinity.

Upon his return to Chicago he was named assistant chancellor in addition to his duties on the faculty of Quigley. In January, 1910, on the selection of Bishop E. M. Dunne, then chancellor to the bishopric of Peoria, Bishop Hoban was named chancellor of the Chicago archdiocese. Other honors followed for this gifted young churchman. In 1917, at the instance of Cardinal Mundelein, then archbishop, he was raised to the dignity of a privy chamberlain with the title of monsignor. His ability and unusual qualities of mind and heart brought his next honor—that of auxiliary bishop of Chicago, titular bishop of Colonia, a former episcopal see in Armenia. His

consecration was marked by a scene of unusual and brilliant splendor at the Cathedral of the Holy Name. Archbishop Mundelein performed the ceremony with Bishop McGavick of La Crosse and Bishop Molloy of Brooklyn as co-consecrators. Again he was singled out for distinction in being named vicar general of the archdiocese, succeeding the Rt. Rev. M. J. FitzSimmons, rector of the Cathedral of the Holy Name, who retired with the title Vicar General Emeritus.

Many lines of church endeavor have known the leadership and advice of Bishop Hoban during his years of service in the Chicago archdiocese. Outstanding was his successful direction of the 28th International Eucharistic Congress of which Cardinal Mundelein chosen him as the honorary president. The multitudinous tasks that fell to his hands were dispatched with tact and efficiency. While his greatest field of service was in connection with the affairs of the chancery office, one of the largest in the world, his work and guidance extended into many other avenues. As spiritual director of the Holy Name society his abilities were tested and proved. His interest in the boys work was paramount and he was the guiding spirit in the Holy Name Technical School project. Regret was keen that his appointment to Rockford called him away from this important work so well started. The Catholic Salvage Bureau, another branch of the Holy Name society's work claimed his support and the Catholic Charities of Chicago, a work of far-reaching influence for good, felt his practical aid and zeal.

The installation of Bishop Hoban at St. James pro Cathedral, Rockford, took place Tuesday, May 15th. Cardinal Mundelein with 28 Bishops led the escort party to Rockford. A special train carried the church dignitaries, 250 clergy, laymen and relatives of the new Rockford prelate. At Rockford a civic welcome from the mayor awaited him.

Cardinal Mundelein officiated at the installation at St. James pro cathedral. The address of welcome was given by the Very Rev. F. F. Connor, J.C.L., administrator of the Rockford diocese. The papal Bulls were read by the Rev. Charles F. Conley, Ph.D., pastor St. Mary's Church, Freeport, who acted as notary. Solemn Mass was celebrated Coram Episcopo with Cardinal Mundelein and Bishop Hoban occupying thrones in the sanctuary. Officers of the Mass were: Rev. David J. Conway, Woodstock, celebrant; Rev. J. J. Flanagan, rector St. James pro Cathedral Rockford, deacon; Rev. M. A. Schumacher, Aurora, sub deacon; Rev. Joseph M. Egan, Freeport, thurifer, and Rev. James Tuomey, Woodstock, and Rev. Arthur Schmid, Harvard, acolytes. Rev. Joseph Morrison, Rev. Francis A. Ryan,

Rev. F. J. Conron, Rev. F. J. Keenan and Rev. J. M. Tully, masters of ceremonies Rev. A. J. Burns, S.T.L., was assistant priest and Rev. J. P. McGuire and Rev. A. A. Heinzler, deacons of honor to Cardinal Mundelein. Rev. Ronald French, Cross bearer; Rev. John J. Laffey, book bearer; Rev. E. A. O'Brien, candle bearer; Rev. Michael Foley and Rev. C. S. Nix, deacons of honor to Bishop Hoban. The massed choirs of Rockford churches were directed by Rev. William V. Reedy of Pecatonica.

At a farewell testimonial for Bishop Hoban on the eve of his departure for Rockford, hundreds of clergy paid a glowing tribute to his lordship and presented him a purse of money.

BISHOP SHEIL

The appointment of the Rt. Rev. Bernard J. Sheil as auxiliary bishop of Chicago, gave recognition to one of the youngest and most untiring workers among the clergy of the Archdiocese of Chicago. Catholics of Chicago were agreeably surprised March 31 of this year when official announcement of the appointment of the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Sheil, LL.D., as auxiliary bishop to His Eminence Cardinal Mundelein was made by His Holiness, Pope Pius XI. The news dispatches from Rome were immediately verified by His Eminence Cardinal Mundelein on his arrival in Chicago from New York, several hours in advance of the newly appointed bishop. Msgr. Sheil, who, with the Rt. Rev. Msgr. H. F. Wolf, had accompanied His Eminence Cardinal Mundelein to Rome, had just begun the last stage of his homeward journey when the announcement was made of his appointment as titular Bishop of Pege and Auxiliary to Cardinal Mundelein.

Bishop Sheil was born within the boundaries of St. Columbkille's parish in 1888, the son of Mr. and Mrs. James B. Sheil. He was educated at St. Viator College and Seminary and was ordained priest at the Cathedral of the Holy Name in 1910. Appointed first to St. Mel's parish, his service there endeared him to hundreds of parishioners. During the World War, Monsignor Sheil was appointed chaplain at the Great Lakes Naval Training station. His tireless work on behalf of the country's service men won him high commendation particularly during the influenza epidemic.

At the conclusion of the war, Bishop Sheil was appointed to Holy Name Cathedral parish. In 1924 he was named as assistant chancellor and the same year accompanied his Eminence Cardinal Mundelein to Rome where he was present at the ceremonies at which Cardinal Mundelein was raised to the Sacred College of Cardinals.

While in Rome, Monsignor Sheil was made private chamberlain to His Holiness.

Msgr. Sheil was prominently identified in planning and carrying out the 28th International Eucharistic Congress held here in 1926, having been elected by His Eminence for the office of Treasurer of the Congress.

Another instance of Bishop Sheil's ability was demonstrated when at Cardinal Mundelein's suggestion he was named a domestic prelate with the title of Right Reverend Monsignor.

His consecration as auxiliary bishop of Chicago took place Tuesday, May 1st, at the Cathedral of the Holy Name, Cardinal Mundelein officiating. It was a colorful ceremony attended with all the pomp and ritual of the Church. Led by Cardinal Mundelein a vast and distinguished concourse of prelates, priests and laymen assembled for the exercises. His Eminence was assisted by the Rt. Rev. E. M. Dunne and the Rt. Rev. E. F. Hoban, as co-consecrators. The Rev. Robert C. Maguire, chancellor as notary, read the papal bull authorizing the consecration.

The mass was celebrated by His Eminence, Cardinal Mundelein, who pontificated at the main altar while the Bishop-elect celebrated simultaneously in the chapel on the epistle side of the sanctuary. The officers of the Mass of Consecration were: Deacon of honor, Right Rev. Msgr. T. P. Bona; deacon of honor, Rt. Rev. Msgr. P. J. McDonnell; deacon of Mass, Very Rev. Msgr. James Horsburgh; subdeacon of Mass, Rev. P. C. Conway; master of ceremonies, Rt. Rev. Msgr. D. J. Dunne; assistant master of ceremonies, Rev. F. A. Ryan; assistant master of ceremonies, Rev. Joseph P. Morrison; cross bearer, Rev. Frank O. McCarthy; notary, Rev. R. C. Maguire; mitre bearer, Rev. M. L. Nealis; crozier bearer, Rev. William Keefe, Indianapolis, Ind.; Knight of St. Gregory, Mr. Joe W. McCarthy; Minister of Faldstool, Rev. J. L. O'Donnell; acolytes, Rev. T. Canty, Rev. S. O'Connor; thurifer, Rev. John E. Foley; boat bearer, Rev. William A. Murphy; bugia-bearer, Rev. John J. O'Hearn; chaplains to Bishop Dunne, Very Rev. Msgr. V. Primeau, Very Rev. Msgr. V. Blahunke; Chaplains to Bishop Hoban, Rt. Rev. Msgr. C. J. Quille, Rt. Rev. Msgr. H. F. Wolf; chaplains to Bishop-elect Sheil, Rev. J. F. Ryan, C. S. V.; Rev. T. J. McDevitt, LL.D.; mitre bearer, Rev. J. P. O'Mahoney, C. S. V.; ring bearer, Rev. S. Sullivan; biretta bearer, Rev. William Casey; master of ceremonies, Rev. Joseph P. Morrison; minister of book, Rev. William J. Lynch; priests for procession, Rev. James Halleran, D.D.; Rev. D. F. Cunningham, Rev. W. J. Gorman; Rev. G. J. Cloos, Rev.

F. J. Gillespie, Rev. L. Peschon, Rev. T. J. Hayes, Rev. A. Przypszny; four priests for vestments, Rev. P. B. Smith, Rev. J. Tully, Rev. C. Schroeder, Rev. R. Berneau.

The Assistant Priest was the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John F. Ryan. The Rt. Rev. M. J. FitzSimmons, V.G.E., is rector of the Cathedral.

Gift bearers: Very Rev. A. Pelletier, S.S.S.; Rev. Michael Cavallo; Rev. John Plaznik; Rev. Thomas J. Bobal; Rev. Stanislaus V. Bona; Rev. H. J. Vaicunas.

The sermon was preached by the Rev. William J. Bergin, C.S.V., of St. Viator College, Bourbonnais, a former instructor of the new prelate. Many alumni from St. Viator's, Bishop Sheil's alma mater, were present.

About 1,000 attended the banquet which followed at the Drake Hotel. The Rev. Stephen E. McMahon was toastmaster and the speakers were Cardinal Mundelein, Bishop McGavick, Bishop Hoban, Rev. J. A. McCarthu and Bishop Sheil. The honored guest was presented a purse of \$36,165.

GERTRUDE A. KRAY.

Chicago.

THE STORY OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

A REVIEW

“When the stream
Which overflowed the soul was passed away,
A consciousness remained that it had left,
Deposited upon the silent shore
Of memory, images and precious thoughts,
That shall not die, and cannot be destroyed.”

—Wordsworth.

Whoever attended the Eucharistic Congress that was held in Chicago two years ago and witnessed that marvelous demonstration of Catholic faith and worship will cherish to his dying day the “images and precious thoughts” engraved on his soul during those days of sublime and touching festivities. And those who were not privileged to participate in the great event, in their soul too has ever since

“A consciousness remained that it had left,”

after their more fortunate friends and acquaintances returned home and described again and again what their eyes had seen and what their hearts had felt. In very truth, the remembrance of the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago is a treasure

“That shall not die, and cannot be destroyed.”

To what all without exception have been looking forward, however, was the official record of those unforgettable days. At last this record has been published in a handsome volume comprising more than five hundred pages and bearing the attractive title, *The Story of the Twenty-Eighth International Eucharistic Congress*. As promised in the Foreword, “the Reverend C. F. Donovan, the compiler of this work, gives an accurate and interesting account of all the assemblies, addresses and ceremonies that were part of this great event This book contains the story of the greatest religious assembly ever held in the United States. . . . For the hundreds of thousands of people privileged to be present, the glory of the Catholic Church shown in its richest ceremonial. The word paintings of the author convey in some measure an idea of the awe-inspiring scenes of these gigantic gatherings.”

To collect the vast amount of material for *The Story*, to sift and arrange this material properly, and to relate the events in a manner

that would hold the interest of the reader—this called for considerable skill, much thought, and indefatigable labor. But Father Donovan, to whom the Committee had entrusted the work, has proved himself equal to the difficult task. The material is well selected and excellently arranged, and the narrative, especially in the first thirteen chapters, is highly fascinating. Unfavorable circumstances prevented the present reviewer from taking part in the Congress. But for the deprivation of this privilege there was rich compensation in the reading of this excellent account. Vividness in the recital of events and in the portrayal of scenes not only rivets the attention and hold the interest of the reader, but it at the same time evokes in his soul a spark of that fervor and enthusiasm which the grandeur of the occasion must have awakened in the souls of the participants. Father Donovan deserves high praise for having so worthily perpetuated the memory of the glorious event. Credit is likewise due him in that he acknowledges his own and the Committee's indebtedness to Mr. Joseph I. Breen, who as director of publicity for the Congress had outlined the general plan of the volume, but who on account of illness was not able to complete the work.

As already indicated, *The Story* opens with an introductory chapter on the "Preparation for the Congress." Here we learn that it was His Eminence, George Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, at whose request the International Committee in 1924 decided to hold the next International Eucharistic Congress in the Garden City on the shores of Lake Michigan. As shown in this chapter, the success of the huge undertaking must be ascribed in largest measure to the enthusiastic co-operation that manifested itself on all sides.

Having been told how much time and labor it cost to make the necessary preparations, the reader is taken in Chapters II and III to New York in order to witness the arrival of the Papal Legate, His Eminence, John Cardinal Bonzano, and to take part in the cordial reception that was tendered the Cardinal by the people of that city. Then follows in Chapter IV an interesting and stirring account of "The Journey of the Red Train" that carried the Papal Legate and his entourage from New York across the country for a thousand miles to Chicago. What the author tells us regarding the welcome which the cities and towns along the route extended to the distinguished visitors fully corroborates his own statement; namely, that this journey "was a triumph, unique in the history of any nation and a demonstration of American courtesy, hospitality and good-will in which the country may well take a justifiable pride."

Equally, if not even more, enthusiastic and inspiring was the trib-

ute of welcome that greeted the Papal Legate on his arrival in Chicago and during the civic reception given him in the spacious Coliseum. These two events are well described in Chapters V and VI. It was at the civic reception that the Hon. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor in the Presidential Cabinet, after reading the fine letter which the President of the United States had addressed to Cardinal Mundelein for the occasion, spoke to the vast audience on his own behalf, declaring in forceful and unmistakable terms exactly where every true American stands on the religious question. No wonder there was prolonged applause when he concluded with the powerful statement:

The narrow prejudice and the intolerance of another day have vanished like mist before the morning sun. You have found, and I hope will always find, in America—no matter what conditions may prevail in other sections of this hemisphere—the freedom which you require to teach your faith to young and old and to be missionaries to us all.

And what a thrilling scene it must have been when, the Cardinal Legate, having finished his discourse, “the great crowd rose again to its feet, whereupon the orchestra struck up ‘The Star-Spangled Banner,’ in the singing of which Cardinal Bonzano and a large number of the prelates on the platform with him, joined.”

Such was the public tribute paid Cardinal Bonzano as the official representative of Pope Pius X, from the moment he set foot on the soil of the United States in New York to the moment he left the Coliseum in Chicago and repaired to the residence of the Cardinal-Archbishop. This was the first time in the history of the United States that a Papal Legate was sent to this country from Rome. In point of reverent enthusiasm and patriotic display, the welcome extended by our citizens of every race, color, and creed to the representative of the Holy Father will without doubt remain unsurpassed for many years to come.

With the formal reception in the Coliseum the secular phase of the Congress came to an end. It is a striking feature of *The Story* and cannot escape the notice of the thoughtful reader that from now on in the account even the highest Church dignitaries recede to the background, making way for Him who was presently to leave His narrow prison of the tabernacle and, as once on the streets of Jerusalem, to receive the homage and adoration of His people. Henceforth, during the five days of unceasing hosannas, the eyes and hearts of all were centered on Jesus Christ, the Son of God, living in the Blessed Eucharist for the consolation and the salvation of His people. In His honor, and in His honor alone, had the countless multitudes come to Chicago from every quarter of the globe.

Before entering upon the narrative of these exclusively religious demonstrations, the author prepares his readers for them in Chapter VII on "The Locale of the Congress." This chapter is a general survey, describing the various places where the main events of the Congress were enacted and offering at the same time a sort of programme of the ceremonies for each day.

Then follow ten intensely fascinating chapters narrating the events and ceremonies. These are grouped under two heads, viz.: the five mass gatherings at which public homage was paid to the Sacrament of the Altar and the sectional meetings where papers were read and discussions held on topics concerning the Blessed Eucharist. Chapter VIII relates the gorgeous festivities that marked the formal opening of the Congress in the Cathedral of the Holy Name. Thereupon in as many chapters the reader is treated to thrilling portrayals of the four open-air celebrations in Soldier Field, viz.: Children's Day, Women's Day, Men's Night, and Higher Education Day. It would be impossible to decide which of these four gigantic demonstrations bear the palm for glowing enthusiasm, solemn grandeur, and touching devotion—whether the 60,000 school children uniting their voices into a mighty chorus and rendering the beautiful Mass of the Angels; or the vast concourse of 250,000 women giving vent to their religious fervor in song and prayer; or the overpowering spectacle of 225,000 men kneeling beneath the starry sky, holding lighted candles, and bending their heads in silent adoration; or the colorful army of thousands of boys and girls, gathered together from the numerous institutions of learning in and near Chicago and raising their hearts to Him "who gives joy unto youth." As just stated, which of these four impressive demonstrations of Catholicity in the United States bears the palm no one would be able, nor willing, to decide. About which, however, there can be no doubt is the verdict that the climax of all the elaborate festivities was the Eucharistic Procession held on the spacious grounds of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary at Mundelein. This event—without question the grandest religious solemnity ever enacted in this country—is related in Chapter XIII. It is perhaps in telling this part of the story that the author is at his best. The manner in which he recounts the event and describes the scenes of this ever memorable 24th day of June, 1926, inclines one to the opinion that this is the finest chapter in the volume, just as the event itself was doubtlessly the climax of the entire Congress.

The remaining chapters, if not the most fascinating, are certainly the most valuable. After depicting in Chapter XIV "The Spirit of

the Congress," the author proceeds to relate what transpired at the various sectional meetings. To these he devotes Chapters XV, XVI and XVII, confining himself for detailed accounts to the English-speaking groups that assembled in the Coliseum. The author did his fellow priests a real service by printing in full the important papers and addresses given at these meetings, since taken together they form a veritable storehouse of Eucharistic lore. Here will be found, as stated in the Foreword, "many thorough discourses on the Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar," prepared "by learned men of every nation," who "were selected because of their learning, their piety, and their remarkable ability of expressing their intimate and devotional study of Our Divine Savior and the Sacrament of His Love."

Chapter XVIII gives an account of the religious exhibits prepared for the congressists at the Municipal Pier and also of the non-Eucharistic meetings that different Catholic organizations held in connection with the Congress. How cordially the Fox Film Corporation co-operated with the ecclesiastical authorities is told in Chapter XIX. The result of this co-operation was the impressive motion picture which made it possible to carry in living pictures the story of the Congress to all parts of the world and at the same time to preserve it for the edification and inspiration of generations to come.

Very appropriately the final chapter describes the touching scenes that attended the departure of the Papal Legate and prints in full the equally touching letter which Pope Pius X addressed to Cardinal Mundelein under date of August 7, 1926. After summarizing the report which Cardinal Bonzano made to His Holiness and congratulating the Cardinal-Archbishop and the Catholics of Chicago and elsewhere on the grand success of the Congress, the Holy Father makes this appreciative and significant statement:

Nor should we pass over in silence, at this time, the deferential attitude of the public authorities and of the American press, which showed so intense and such kindly interest in this religious celebration thus nobly interpreting and satisfying the wish of the American people; of that people who was so hospitable and so generously respectful to Our representative and to the other princes and prelates of the Church, and showed such reverence for all that pertains to Religion; God certainly will not fail to bless a nation that encourages such noble sentiments and knows so well how to nobly express them. Indeed, we may consider one of the first of these blessings the admiration and praise for the United States that the Congressists returning from Chicago are even now giving expression to throughout the world.

To show the effect that the Eucharistic Congress had, the author presents a symposium of public utterances by prominent Americans, non-Catholic as well as Catholic. The last pages of the volume are devoted to a valuable bibliography of works on the Holy Eucharist and to a very serviceable List of Contents.

Fully in keeping with the contents of the volume is its attractive and durable binding. The front cover is enriched with a gold-embossed picture of the monstrance. The famous masterpiece of Da Vinci, representing the Last Supper, forms the frontispiece. The text is richly and handsomely illustrated. There are sepia portraits of Pope Pius X, of Cardinal Bonzano, and of Cardinal Mundelein; likewise of the other Cardinals who attended the Congress and of distinguished priests and laymen who by their hearty co-operation helped to make the Congress a success. In addition, there are numerous pictures of interesting scenes and events, chief among which are of course the two beautiful folding pictures in sepia, giving panoramic views of the vast concourse in Soldier Field on Children's Day and of the gathering before the chapel of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary. The illustrations are well selected and add greatly to the value of the volume. *The Story* is published by The Eucharistic Congress Committee and may be had from J. H. Meier, 64 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

To all who desire an authentic and interesting account of the great event that took place in Chicago two years ago we heartily recommend *The Story of the Twenty-Eighth International Eucharistic Congress*. While reading this wonderful story and gazing at the many beautiful pictures, one's soul will surely experience again those sentiments of love and loyalty to our Eucharistic Lord that thrilled the souls of so many thousands during the great Congress of 1926. To read this splendidly written record is to feel once more the magic spell of that unforgettable event and to realize that

"When the stream
Which overflowed the soul was passed away,
A consciousness remained that it had left,
Deposited upon the silent shore
Of memory, images and precious thoughts,
That shall not die, and cannot be destroyed."

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK, O. F. M., Ph. D.

Quincy College

ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XI

OCTOBER, 1928

NUMBER II

Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society
28 NORTH FRANKLIN STREET, CHICAGO

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILL.

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NEW LIGHT ON OLD CAHOKIA

BY GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

The Venerable François de Laval de Montmorency, first Bishop of Quebec, after thirty years of prodigious activity devoted to the up-building of the church of Canada resigned his see in 1688 and was succeeded by the Abbé Jean-Baptiste de la Croix-Chevière de St. Vallier, chaplain to Louis XIV at Versailles. This excellent ecclesiastic, a man of undoubted piety and zeal, but of a meddlesome, head-strong temper and undiplomatic ways, was to prove himself a veritable storm-center in the troubled waters over which he voyaged during the greater part of his long episcopate. "After having spread something of terror everywhere throughout his diocese," the words are those of his sympathetic biographer, Msgr. Edmond Gosselin, "after having turned his episcopal Seminary upside down and interdicted the three principal directors of that institution, after having launched his thunders against a number of persons in full view of the colony, interdicted an entire convent of religious and caused their church to be closed for several months," he arrived in Paris on a summons from the colonial minister, Pontchartrain, and the Archbishop of Paris, to clear himself of the charges that had been filed against him by the discontented elements of his diocese. On this occasion Louis XIV made an unsuccessful attempt to induce his ertswihle chaplain, whom he personally revered, to resign his see in the interests of peace and take up his residence in Fance. The Grand Monarque, baffled by the redoubtable prelate, was content to let him return in quiet to his diocese, which he reached in the course of 1697. His stay abroad had been coincident with the ferment in ecclesiastical circles caused by

the controversy which had broken out between the Jesuits and the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris over the so-called Chinese rites. Feeling ran high and much was said and written on both sides which the more reflecting attitude of later years had reason to regret.

At his departure from the French capital, Bishop St. Vallier was counseled by no less eminent a personage than Noailles, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, to cultivate the friendship and good will of the "Gentlemen," as they were called, of the Foreign Missions, with whom he had previously been at odds, and who at this juncture were directing the diocesan seminary of Quebec. This no doubt excellent counsel the Bishop proceeded to act upon immediately on his return to Canada. With commendable zeal the Seminary clergymen were just then planning to extend their activities into two new fields of apostolic enterprise, primary education and the Mississippi Valley missions, and they applied to the Bishop for opportunity to realize their designs. The Bishop promptly acquiesced and he did so by calling upon the Jesuits to close their primary school in Quebec, conducted successfully by them for forty years, in order that the Seminary clergymen might open one in its place. Further, he committed to the Seminary clergymen a field of mission-labor which the Jesuits had understood to be their own by a solemn canonical grant from the hand of St. Vallier himself. These two measures the Jesuit Superior in Quebec at once protested, to the chagrin of the Bishop, who now displayed successive tokens of his displeasure. He forbade "declamations and tragedies" in the Jesuit College of Quebec, took from Father Le Blanc the direction of the Gentlemen's Sodality and forbade that organization to meet on Sundays. Finally, he appropriated without offer of indemnity a valuable Jesuit property in the Huron Mission of Old Lorette and turned it over to parish uses. In this last measure, in other measures of an unfriendly tenor taken by Bishop St. Vallier in regard to the Jesuits, the Superior of their College in Quebec, Father Bouvart, readily acquiesced, too readily, so it was thought by some of his confreres, who communicated to the General in Rome their opinion that a stand should be taken against what they judged to be the Bishop's arbitrary and aggressive attitude. The question of the Tamaroa Mission, which had just now been ceded to the Seminary priests to the prejudice, so it was alleged, of the prior rights of the Jesuits to the same field, seemed to be one in which appeal might in all propriety be made from the Bishop of Quebec to higher authorities abroad. Was there not, so it was felt, danger that acquiescence here might result in still further restrictions on their

missionary activities? Had not St. Vallier attempted to secure the support of the French episcopate for a new legislation, to be approved by Rome, in virtue of which missionaries of the religious orders were to be withdrawn from immediate dependence on their Superiors and placed at the beck and call of the Bishops? It was, therefore, apparently because broader issues were involved than the sacrifice of a petty mission-post that the Tamaroa question loomed so large before the Jesuits of Quebec. And so, eying the whole situation, it would appear, from an angle of self-defence, they sent their protest overseas to their Superiors in Paris, the missions of Canada being at that time attached to the Province of France. By the Paris Superiors the affair was soon brought to the immediate attention of the French monarch, Louis XIV, a quite legitimate step in those days of intimate union of Church and State. A far cry surely from the banks of the St. Lawrence to the gilded splendors of Versailles.

II.

Meantime, the first chapter in the story of the Tamaroa Mission was being written into history. On May 1, 1698, Bishop St. Vallier issued in favor of the Seminary priests letters patent authorizing them to evangelize the Indian Tribes "on this side and that of the Mississippi River and along the entire length of that river and the tributaries discharging therein . . . without its being permitted to other missionaries of different bodies to make establishments unless with the consent of (the Seminary priests) in places where they shall be established or even in other places which they shall have chosen in agreement with us or our Vicar-Generals."

In this initial grant of powers no mention whatever is made of the Tamaroa Indians. The Pandora box containing the fateful name was still to be unlocked. The Seminary priests when they first took up with the Bishop of Quebec the subject of Mississippi Valley missions were seemingly without any knowledge of that interesting tribe or at least without any realization of the important relation it bore to their scheme of missionary enterprise. But within a few days of the issuing of the above cited document it became known to them that the Missouri River, "on which is the nation of the Panis (Pawnees) and others that have been given to the aforesaid Seminary," ran only six leagues (some fifteen miles) "from the said nation of the Tamarois." Therefrom they concluded that possession of this strategic point as commanding the entire valley of the Missouri and necessary

therefore to the success of their missionary plans should be expressly asked for from the ecclesiastical authorities.¹

For some or other reason, probably because St. Vallier was absent from Quebec, this question of an extension of the faculties already accorded to the Seminary seems to have first come before Bishop Laval, the saintly retired founder of the Church in Canada, who was himself deeply interested in the Seminary project and actually engaged in setting it on foot. Solicitous not to give offense to any of the parties concerned, Laval thought it incumbent on him to ascertain first whether or not the Jesuits were already in possession of the Tamaroa post. To this end, and at the solicitation of Mr. De Montigny, who was to head the Seminary expedition, Henri de Tonti, "the man of the iron hand," appeared before the aged prelate to render testimony on this important point. No more interesting figure was just then to be found among the pathfinders of mid-continental North America than this son of an Italian nobleman, to whom the world owes the peculiar form of life-insurance known as the Tontine. Henri de Tonti's military career began in the Old World where he lost his right hand in an Italian campaign, but replaced it by one of iron, which he wielded with uncanny ease to the unfailing amazement of the Indians. Over them his ascendancy was supreme. By promises, by threats, by the sheer force of an engaging personality, he made his way successfully among the Mississippi Valley tribes, whose sympathy and support he gained for his various military and commercial projects. "It was enough to be in his company to be safe from insult," wrote one of the missionaries whom he was soon to accompany to the Lower Mississippi. Probably De Tonti's chief title to a place in history is to be found in his association with La Salle, whose faithful lieutenant he proved to be and whom, in conjunction with his partner, De La Forest, he succeeded in commercial control of the Illinois country. Unlike, however, his more famous associate, he knew how to deal with men; and an outstanding authority on colonial Illinois, Clarence Walworth Alvord, notes that he maintained pleasant relations with the Jesuits. This may have been true at an earlier period of his Illinois career, but was apparently not the case in the Tamaroa controversy. His attitude towards the Jesuits in this connection was one of opposition, identified as he was from the very beginning with the Seminary side of the controversy. According to Taschereau, whom it is difficult to credit in this statement, Father Bineteau, from a motive of resentment, turned d'Iberville, founder and first Governor of the Louisiana colony, against De Tonti with the

result that the latter received from the Governor the very disagreeable commission of going to Chicago and there putting under arrest and escorting to Fort Maurepas "an Englishman of Caroline," who had settled on the site of the future metropolis. At Paris in the Colonial Archives letters of De Tonti are still preserved in which he speaks of alleged Jesuit hostility to him and the Seminary priests.

It was, then, from this presumably unimpeachable authority on Illinois affairs, Henri de Tonti, that Bishop Laval now received verbal assurance that the Jesuits had no establishment whatever among the Tamaroa Indians. Moreover, the explorer informed Bishop St. Vallier by letter that for twenty years no Jesuit missionary had ever set foot in the Tamaroa village, one only excepted and he had not remained among them a full week. To clinch this testimony, in the absence from Quebec of Father Bruyas, Superior of the Canadian Jesuits, Father Germain, one of their number, went to Bishop Laval to assure him that he had no knowledge of a Jesuit Tamaroa mission, that "it was not on their list." Similar testimony, so it appears, was later rendered by Father Bruyas himself. Presumably reliable information that the Jesuits had no mission among the Tamaroa having thus been received by Bishop Laval and St. Vallier, the latter, on June 4, 1698, a date following by only fourteen days that of the first document, communicated new letters-patent to the Seminary clergymen, renewing their previous grant and assigning to them specifically the Tamaroa Mission. Somewhat later the statement of a *coureur de bois* to the effect that they had numerous neophytes among the Tamaroa was invoked by the Jesuits, while Father Gravier, Superior of the Illinois Missions, declared that his Jesuit associates in Canada, as being unacquainted with actual conditions in the remote West, had unwittingly misled the Quebec prelates in the information they furnished concerning the Tamaroa Indians. Gravier's own contention, as far as the meagre contemporary evidence on this head enables us to understand it, was, not that the Jesuits had actually occupied the Tamaroa post, but they had, so to speak, legitimately preempted it, as falling within the limits of the mission-field assigned them by the Bishop of Quebec in 1690.²

In the letters patent of June 4, 1698, issued in favor of the Seminary clergymen, Bishop St. Vallier declares that "on representations made to us that it may happen that other missionaries not of their body may desire in virtue of letters-patent previously granted them by us, to exclude them from the right of establishing themselves and setting up missions among the Indians known as the Tamarois, which

would be greatly to the prejudice of the missions of the aforesaid Superior and Directors of the said Seminary of the foreign missions of Quebec, considering that the localities where the above mentioned Tamarois reside are, as it were, the key and necessary passage to the Indians further on and facilitate access to the same; and as in consequence it is of great importance to the said seminary to establish residences and conduct missions in the said localities known as the Tamarois; we, desiring to remove every obstacle that might prevent the execution of the very praiseworthy enterprise which the said Superior and Directors of the said seminary have taken in hand to carry the Faith to the above mentioned lands, have permitted and do permit them by these presents to send missionaries of theirs to the so-called Tamarois Indians and to open among them such residences, establishments and mission-posts as they shall judge to be proper."

The body to which letters-patent had previously been granted was the Society of Jesus; and the document, dated December 15, 1690, is of the following tenor:

"Having recognized," says Bishop St. Vallier, "that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus who are engaged in the conversion of the Indians of this country are engaged therein with all assiduity and take all the pains we can desire without sparing labor of life itself; and, in particular, as we knew that for more than twenty years they have been working in the mission of the Illinois which [tribe] they were the first to discover and to which Father Marquette of the same Society announced the Faith, beginning with the year 1672[1673], subsequently dying in that glorious occupation, which had been committed to him by our predecessor; and [knowing] that after the death of Father Marquette we placed in charge of it Father Allouez, also a Jesuit, who after laboring there for many years, closed his life, worn out by the excessive hardships which he endured in the instruction and for the conversion of the Illinois, the Miami, and other nations; and as, finally, we have delivered the care of this mission of the Illinois and other surrounding [tribes] to Father Gravier of the same Society, who has been engaged [in the work] with the great blessing of God upon his labors; for these reasons we continue and ratify what we have done and, altogether anew, we commit the mission of the Illinois and the surrounding [tribes] as also those of the Miami, the Sioux, and other [tribes] of the Ottawa country and towards the setting [sun] to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and we give to the Superiors of the said missions all the powers of our Vicar-Generals."

For its missionary enterprise in the Valley of the Mississippi the Seminary of Quebec sent out a party of four clergymen, the Reverend Messrs. François Jolliet de Montigny, Jean François Buisson de St.

Cosme, Antoine Davion and Thaumur de la Source, the last named being only in deacon's orders. He was to acquaint himself with the Indian languages with a view to returning later as a priest. Mr. de Montigny was Superior of the expedition with the powers of Vicar-General, from the Bishop of Quebec, and together with Mr. Davion contributed 4030 of the 10,000 livres (or some \$2,000) spent upon the venture.

The party included, besides, three lay-assistants (*frères donnés*) and two blacksmiths, the latter provided with all the necessary tools for building houses and chapels. One of the blacksmiths as also one of Mr. de Montigny's workmen had been associated with the brothers Charon of Montreal, who had conceived a plan not subsequently realized, of founding a religious community the members of which were to devote themselves as servants to the missionaries. Finally, M. de Tonti, now absent from the Illinois country for three years, had been prevailed upon to accompany the missionaries in the capacity of guide and introduce them to the Indian tribes as far south as the Arkansas. Besides the three canoes of the travellers, there was a fourth belonging to M. de Vincennes, who was on his way to the Miami and was to part from his companions of the journey at Kippikaivi, the modern Racine, Wisconsin.³

Setting out from Quebec on July 16, 1698, the Seminary party passed through Mackinac, Chicago and Peoria, at all which places they were received with cordial hospitality by the resident Jesuit missionaries. Mr. de Montigny, writing the following year to the Jesuit Superior at Quebec, Father Bruyas, has this acknowledgement: "We are under too many obligations to your Fathers for the kind reception they have been pleased to tender us not to give some expression of my gratitude. For your Fathers of Michilimackinac, of Pimiteoui [Peoria] and of Chicagou have spared no pains to make us welcome. I declare to you I have been highly edified by their zeal, though of a surety I do not believe that they can bear up much longer under the severe hardships which they endure; I believe that you ought either to tell them not to take so much upon themselves or at least to send somebody to share with them the toils of their missions. I speak in particular of the one of Chicagou and of Father Bineteau whom we found in Chicagou quite exhausted after the serious illness he had passed through."⁴ From Mackinac Father Gravier, Superior of the Jesuit Illinois missions, wrote to Bishop Laval concerning De Montigny and his party, who took leave of that post on September 14:

We have welcomed with sincere and cordial joy those zealous missionaries of your seminary for foreign missions at Quebec, with whom we are happy to be so closely united. And, if we could feel the slightest regret at seeing strangers in the Akansea mission—where Father Marquette seems to have gone first in order to open the entrance to it for his brethren—we can but rejoice that they of your Seminary, Monseigneur, whom we look upon as true brethren and who allow us to share in the merits of their good works, should be pleased to labor for the conversion of the poor Akansea, and of the other nations who have not yet any knowledge of the true God.

I acknowledge, Monseigneur, that Father de Carheil and myself are charmed with the good judgment, the zeal and the modesty that Monsieur de Montigny, Monsieur St. Cosme and Monsieur Davion have displayed in the conferences that we have had together with the same openness and the same frankness as if we had always lived together; and we beg your grace to believe that we omit nothing that may confirm it. . . . He [de Montigny] did not give me time to compose a short speech in Illinois, as an introduction. Father Binteau [Bineteau], who knows the customs of the savages as well as I do, will do it better than I can. He, as well as Father Pinet at Chicagua, will do themselves the pleasure of rendering them every kind of service.⁵

At Chicago Fathers Pinet and Bineteau, as has been said, gave the travelers a welcome. "I cannot describe to you, my lord," so Mr. St. Cosme wrote to Bishop St. Vallier, January 2, 1699, "with what cordiality and manifestations of friendship those Reverend Fathers received and embraced us while we had the consolation of residing with them."⁶ At Peoria, on occasion of the visit of the three priests, there was a Solemn High Mass, the first recorded in the history of the Mississippi Valley. A letter from the local Superior, Father Gabriel Marest, to a fellow Jesuit tells of their reception at Peoria.

Three Gentlemen of the Quebec Seminary, sent by Monseigneur the Bishop to establish Missions on the Mississippi, passed through here. We received them as well as we were able, lodging them in our own house, and sharing with them what we could possess amid a scarcity as great as that which prevailed in the village throughout the year. On leaving, we also induced them to take seven sacks of corn that we had left, concealing our poverty from them, so that they might have less objection to receiving what we offered them. In another of our Missions [Chicago] we also fed two of their people during the whole of last winter. As these Gentlemen did not know the Illinois language, we gave them a collection of prayers, and a translation of the catechism, with the notes that we have been able to make upon that language, in order to help them to learn it. In fine, we showed them every possible attention and kindness.⁷

December 7, 1698, found the Quebec missionaries on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite the Tamaroa village and on ground which is believed to be now within the municipal limits of St. Louis, metropolis of Missouri and the Southwest. Here on December 8, in the calendar of the Catholic Church festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, the priests, apparently all three of them, celebrated Mass, the first religious services known to have been conducted on the site of St. Louis. Then, passing over to the other bank, under de Tonti's guidance, they visited the Tamaroa village where they conferred with the chief, most of the Indians being absent on the winter-hunt. St. Cosme's letter of January 2, 1699, a classic in the literature of early Western travel, narrates the incident.

On the following day about noon we reached the Tamarois. These savages had received timely warning of our arrival through some of the Kaoukias, who carried the news to them, and as a year before they had molested Monsieur de Tonti's man, they were afraid and all the women and children fled from the village. The chief came with some of his people to receive us on the water's edge and to invite us to their village, but we did not go because we wished to prepare for the feast of the Conception. We camped on the other side of the river on the right bank. Monsieur de Tonti went to the village, and after reassuring them to some extent, he brought the chief, who begged us to go and see him in his village. We promised to do so and on the following day, the feast of the Conception [December 8], after saying our Masses, we went with Monsieur de Tonti and seven of our men well armed. They came to meet us and led on to the chief's cabin. All the women and children were there, and no sooner had we entered the cabin than the young men and women broke away a portion of it to see us. They had never seen blackgowns, except for a few days Reverend Father Gravier, who had made a journey to their country. They gave us food and we gave them a small present, as we had done to the Kaouchias. We told them that it was to show them that our hearts were without guile and that we wished to effect an alliance with them so that they might give a good reception to our people who would pass there and supply them with food. They received the gifts with many thanks and after that we returned to our camp.

The Tamarois were camped on an island [blank in Mss.] lower than the village, probably in order to obtain wood more easily than in their village, which is on the edge of a prairie and some distance away, probably through fear of their enemies. We were unable to ascertain whether they were very numerous; there seemed many of them, although the majority of their people were away hunting. There would be enough for a rather fine mission, by bringing to it the Kaouchias, who live quite near, and the Mechigamias, who live a little lower down the Mississippi, and who are said to be pretty

numerous. We did not see them because they had gone into the interior to hunt. The three villages speak the Illinois languages.⁸

Passing through Montreal, Mr. de Montigny had assured Father Bruyas, the Jesuit Superior, that the Seminary would not settle in any place already occupied by the Jesuits. He had occasion to prove the sincerity of his pledge when he declined the offer made by de Tonti to build the Seminary priests a chapel at Peoria. Moreover, it was the intention of de Montigny, so it is asserted by Taschereau, not to make use of the grant made to him of the Tamaroa Mission if he could possibly get along without that post. For this reason the missionaries, after a passing visit to the Tamaroa village, had pushed on to the Arkansas, where the real field of their labors was felt to lie. Here, however, they finally realized the necessity, already pointed out to them at Quebec, of the Tamaroa post as the key to the entire field of their missionary designs, especially as concerned the Valley of the Missouri.

Accordingly, in the March of 1699, Messrs. de Montigny and St. Cosme had returned from the lower Mississippi to the Tamaroa settlement.⁹ Here the Indians, having returned from their winter-hunt and numbering all told about two thousand, some sixty cabins of visiting Indians included, gave welcome to the missionaries, presenting to them some Indian slaves "as a token of the desire they had for their establishment."¹⁰ Preparations were at once made to organize the mission, Mr. St. Cosme being placed in charge as resident pastor. Then, on March 28, in company with Thaumur de la Source, who must have arrived among the Tamaroa only a short time previous, de Montigny set out for Chicago to bring back the luggage, which had remained there during the preceding winter, as it had been impossible owing to low water in the portage district to transport it. The journey was a trying one with repeated rains to add to its discomforts. The hired men of the party would have carried de Montigny, who became quite exhausted from fatigue, but the courageous missionary declined the proffered service and continued the journey on foot. At Chicago, which was reached on Holy Thursday, he met the local Jesuit missionaries, Pinet and Bineteau, whom he thought overburdened with work so that he was moved to write to their Superior in Canada urging that help be despatched to their relief.¹¹

On Easter Monday, de Montigny, after spending only three or four days in Chicago, set out thence on his return journey to the Tamaroa. About forty miles below Peoria he met Father Bineteau and with him proceeded the rest of the way to the Tamaroa, the mis-

sionaries rescuing on the way two Missouri Indians from a band of prowling Winnebagoes.¹² The Tamaroa were reached on May 14, nearly seven weeks having elapsed since de Montigny had left this post for Chicago. In the interval Mr. St. Cosme, who had remained behind with two men to work on the mission-buildings, had not been idle. Thirty baptisms had been performed, a presbytery put up and the logs for a chapel cut and made ready for use. The raising of the log-chapel was the work of a day or two. "[The chapel] being finished," this is de Montigny's account, "we planted a cross with the greatest possible ceremony. All the Indians were in attendance; they showed a great desire to be instructed and become Christians and brought their little children that we might baptize them and give them a name." Shortly after this ceremony de Montigny, on May 22, departed from the Tamaroa to descend the Mississippi and take up his residence among the Taensa Indians.¹³ The opening of the chapel and the raising of the mission-cross are of more than ordinary significance in the present narrative for they may be taken to mark the formal establishment or founding of the Tamaroa Mission, the date of which is accordingly to be assigned to the period May 14-22, 1699. Devotion to the Holy Family was just then a popular one in Canada and so the Mission received this title, a letter of St. Cosme's of as early a date as March 1700, being indorsed "*de la Mission de la Ste Famille des Tamarois.*"

The Tamaroa village was not settled exclusively or even principally by Indians of that name. The Tamaroa, some thirty cabins, numbered about one-third of the inhabitants, the other two-thirds consisting of Cahokia Indians, some sixty cabins, and a sprinkling of Metchigamia and Peoria. There were, besides, in March, 1699, sixty cabins of Missouri Indians temporarily settled with the Tamaroa. A contemporary estimate probably the most trustworthy now available, gives the whole number of Indians in the village at this date (March, 1699), including presumably the Missouri transients, as approximately two thousand. This is a lower estimate by a large margin than the one we find in a letter of Thaumur de la Source (April 19, 1699), who describes the village as being one of three hundred cabins, which was the largest Indian settlement he had seen in the West. As to the name Tamaroa as applied to the village, Mr. Bergier, the Seminary priest who is to figure so largely in our story, has these details. "Although the Tamarois are at present fewer in number than the Kaoukia, the village nevertheless retains the name Tamaroua, in French Tamarois, because the Tamarois were and are still the oldest inhabi-

tants and were the first to light a fire there, according to the Indian expression. Moreover, all the other nations who joined the latter, have not succeeded in changing the name of the village, but have been comprised under the name Tamarois, although they were not themselves Tamarois.”¹⁴ The Jesuit missionaries appear to have been the first to call the village by the name of its most numerous inhabitants, the Cahokia, a designation which Mr. Bergier resented, seeing in it, on what grounds does not appear, an attempt on the part of the Jesuits to impair the significance of Bishop St. Vallier’s letters-patent, in which the Seminary clergymen were accredited specifically to the Tamaroa, no mention at all being made of the Cahokia Indians.¹⁵ However, the Jesuit, Gabriel Marest, writing in 1712, speaks of “the village of the Tamarouas.” But the name Cahokia is the one that survived in history and as such will be used freely in the subsequent course of this narrative.

III.

We have seen that the grant made by Bishop St. Vallier of the Tamaroa mission-field to the clergy of the Quebec Seminary was protested by the Jesuits as an alleged infringement on their previously acquired rights to the same field. The Bishop’s letter of 1690 guaranteed to them the liberty of working among “the Illinois and surrounding tribes.” The Tamaroa were held to be an Illinois tribe. Certainly their language was an Illinois dialect and Father Bineteau was to prepare for the Seminary missionaries an address in Illinois to be used by them, presumably when presenting themselves to the Tamaroa or some other Illinois tribe.¹⁶ Father Gravier, writing years before the controversy broke out, refers to the Tamaroa as an Illinois tribe.¹⁷ De Tonti in 1700 describes the Tamaroa as belonging to the Illinois. So also d’Iberville, who founded the Louisiana colony in 1699, was to say at a later period: “the entire Illinois nation, of which the Tamaroa are a part, would naturally have to belong to the Jesuits. I have said so several times to the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions.”¹⁸ However, as far as can be ascertained, the Jesuits had not actually worked the Tamaroa field before the coming of the Seminary priests, apart from having made a few converts among the Indians of this tribe. Prior to the arrival of the latter in 1698, only two Jesuits, Father Marquette (so at least it would seem) and Father Gravier, had ever actually visited the principal Tamaroa village; and Gravier’s visit, some time about 1695, lasted but a few days. Towards the end of 1698 Father Bineteau had visited a band of Cahokia who were camping on the banks of the Mississippi not far above the Illi-

nois River; and in January, 1699, he was looking forward to another visit in the spring to the Cahokia and Tamaroa, this time, it would appear, in their principal village. "I have recently been with the Tamaroas, to visit a band of them on the bank of one of the largest rivers in the world—which, for this reason, we call the Mississippi or the great river. . . . I am to return to the Illinois of Tamaroa in the spring." ¹⁹

Interesting in this connection is a letter of Bishop St. Vallier to Father Gravier, of date February, 1700, which reviews the grounds alleged by the Jesuits for their retention of the Tamaroa field. These grounds, as detailed by the Bishop, for no Jesuit statement on the subject is extant, were: (1) that Father Gravier had cultivated this field for more than ten years; (2) that he had made numerous journeys to the Tamaroa village, some times remaining there entire months; (3) that Father Bineteau had been on the spot before the arrival of Mr. St. Cosme. To these claims the Bishop made rejoinder: (1) that Father Gravier had at no time in no legitimate sense cultivated the field in question. "It is incomprehensible that one should describe as a mission cultivated for ten years" one in which "for ten years one has set up neither house, chapel, nor cross." (2) Father Gravier, so the Bishop has been assured (by de Tonti, as we know from other sources), was at the Tamaroa village only once, in or about 1695, and then only for two or three days, or four or five at the most. (3) Father Bineteau was at on time in the Tamaroa village before the arrival of Mr. St. Cosme, but had only visited a band of Cahokia in their winter quarters on the Mississippi River some twenty or thirty league above the Tamaroa settlement. At the time of Father Bineteau's visit, "all the Tamaroa were in winter quarters at one league and a half below the village; the chief of the Kaoukias with the greater part of the nation [was] four leagues below on the other side of the Mississippi River. All these were seen by our missionaries. Rev. Father Bineteau had not been in any of these places, nor on the Riviere des Canaux, where there was another chief of the Kaoukia with a number of cabins. Now, to speak in general terms, for a missionary to have been in a mission and make us believe that he has cultivated it, he must have remained some time in the village or in some of the principal winter quarters near the village, where the chiefs are living; he must not merely have been in some distant cabins accidentally joined to those of a different village. One would not call that taking care of a mission." ²⁰ Whatever the title of the Jesuits to the Tamaroa post, it clearly did not rest on any actual

occupation of it. At the same time Father Gravier, it would seem, had long projected a mission in that quarter, as falling within the limits of the Illinois mission-district assigned him by Bishop St. Vallier. Further, he now decided actually to establish his men in that quarter, notwithstanding the recent cession of it to the Seminary priests; and he did this, we have every reason to suppose, in entire good faith, in the persuasion that the Bishop's grant of 1690 in his favor continued to be valid and might accordingly be safely acted upon, pending a settlement of the affair by the French Court, to which it had been appealed.

A notice, however brief, of Father Jacques Gravier, outstanding figure in the episode we are telling, must here find place. He was now forty-eight years of age had been on the American missions fifteen years, and had acquired remarkable proficiency in the language of the natives. His work among the Indians was noted with high praise in Bishop St. Vallier's above cited letters-patent of 1690, which charged Gravier, as we have seen, with the care of the Illinois missions, at the same time communicating to him as Superior of these missions the powers of Vicar-General. What Father Gravier had achieved for the Illinois missions is best told in the contemporary words of Father Gabriel Marest, his intimate friend and associate in that field of apostolic labor. "It is properly Father Gravier who ought to be regarded as the founder of the Illinois missions: It is he who first made clear the principles of their language and who reduced them to the rules of Grammar; we have only perfected that which he successfully began." And again Father Marest writes: "Nearly ten years ago Father Gravier laid the foundation of this new centre of Christianity, which he fostered with care and trouble beyond belief." The last years of this intrepid missionary saw him clinging to his post under circumstances that made him a veritable martyr to duty. Shot at by an irate Indian, he received in his arm a stone arrow-head which he carried with him to the grave. He never fully recovered from the wound, but after a journey to Europe to obtain recruits returned to America in shattered health, there to die on the mission-field which he had done so much to cultivate.

The actual occupation of the Tamaroa mission-field by the Society of Jesus was now to begin. Acting under instructions from Father Gravier, his Superior, Father Julian Bineteau, arrived at Cahokia on May 14, 1699, in company with Mr. de Montigny, there to begin resident missionary work among the Tamaroa Indians.²¹ A native of La Fleche in France and now in his forty-seventh year, he had in

the earlier period of his career been employed in the colleges of his Order, filling among other posts that of professor of rhetoric at Nevers and Caen. Having reached America in 1691, he had seen eight years of service in the Indian missions, first among the Abenakis in the present Maine and subsequently at Mackinac, Peoria and Chicago. He came to know the Indians as well as Gravier himself, and Gravier was the outstanding missionary of the period. With the Seminary priests his relations appears to have been pleasant. De Montigny, meeting him in Chicago, gives him high praise and later, in June, 1699, notes in a letter from the Arkansas River that Bineteau does him the honor of writing him frequent letters from his mission nine hundred miles above.²² But his arrival at Cahokia came as a surprise, and an unpleasant one, it seems, to Mr. St. Cosme, the resident pastor, who wrote to Canada that he foresaw "division" as a result of Bineteau's presence in the village.²³ He was surprised too, that Bineteau had left Father Marest alone at Peoria, for "on the testimony of the Indians themselves he is not in a position to keep up the mission." However, not to disedify the Indians, St. Cosme allowed Bineteau the use of his chapel for services for the natives.²⁴ No details whatever of his ministry at Cahokia are on record. In the oppressively hot summer of 1699 he accompanied the Indians on their buffalo hunt, probably in the Kentucky and Tennessee region, where the Illinois were accustomed to hunt.²⁵ Nearly smothered during the day by the tall grass of the prairies and chilled at night as he lay drenched in perspiration on the damp floor of the woods, he contracted a fever, probably pulmonary in nature, which broke his strength. Setting out from Cahokia to winter with his fellow-missionaries at Peoria, he died there in the arms of Father Marest on Christmas day, 1699.²⁶ (His death was a holy one, so the Jesuit Superior at Quebec was at pains to record. He was the first member of the Society of Jesus to die within the limits of what is now the State of Illinois.) "Father Bineteau," we are told by Father Gravier, "died there [among the Illinois] from exhaustion; but, "if he had a few drops of Spanish wine for which he asked us during his last illness, and some little dainties—such as sugar or other things—or we had been ablt to procure some fresh food for him, he would perhaps be still alive."²⁷ Corroborating this account, Father Bouvart writes that Bineteau's death was due to "excessive labor and excessive abstinence."

With the passing of Father Bineteau, the Tamaroa Indians were left for some months without ministerial aid, Mr. St. Cosme not being

able as yet to deal with them in their native language. The latter had been joined before the end of 1699 by Mr. Bouteville, a Seminary priest, who in the spring of 1700 began to descend the Mississippi, but receiving letters on the way from Mr. de Montigny returned to Cahokia. How long he remained there is not known. On February 1, 1700, Mr. Marc Bergier, another Seminary priest, together with "young" Mr. St. Cosme, a brother of the resident pastor and not yet in priest's orders, arrived at Cahokia.²⁹ In the incidents presently to be narrated Mr. Bergier was to take a foremost part. A memorandum in his own hand, dated August 13, 1699, supplies these personal data. "Marc Bergier, priest, Doctor of Laws, about 32 years of age, a native of Tein (?) diocese of Vienne in Dauphine. My father's name is Jean Jacques Bergier also a priest for some 28 years, that is to say, from within a short time of the death of my mother." The Seminary interests were safe in his keeping. On his death seven years later a Seminary priest, Mr. Tremblay, was to write that the Mission of Louisiana had need of a man "with beak and claws (*qui eût bec et ongles*) like Mr. Bergier and at the same time as moderate [*mesuré*] as he was."³⁰

Mr. Bergier came now with the powers of Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec and Superior of the Seminary missionaries in the Mississippi Valley, relieving in both capacities Mr. de Montigny, who on leaving Cahokia in May, 1699, had descended the river to labor among the Taensa, an Indian tribe allied to the Natchez. De Montigny later moved his residence to the latter tribe, but left that post in May, 1700, to return with d'Iberville to France, where he hoped to secure an adjustment of the perplexing affair of the Tamaroa Mission.³⁰ On his arrival in Paris, which he reached in September, 1700, he submitted a report of unfavorable tenor on that missionary station. He estimated at 20,000 the number of Indians from the Tamaroa to the mouth of the Mississippi; but of these only a small proportion would be promising material for the missionaries to work upon. He advised the transfer of administration headquarters from the Tamaroa to the lower Mississippi, whence it would be possible to maintain direct communication with France. This was preferable to the indirect route by Canada, which was long, expensive and dangerous by reason of the hostile Indians along the way, besides bringing the Seminary into relations of dependence on the Jesuits. On the other hand the lower Mississippi was marshy and, as a result, unhealthy. The expenses of the missions ran high, exorbitantly so, though no unnecessary outlay was incurred; 2000 livres a year for

each missionary and for presents to the Indians "without which nothing is accomplished with the natives." Missionaries should be sent in pairs so as to dispense with hired servants or *dounés*, who show themselves "insolent" and are "the evangelical workers greatest cross." In view of the unfavorable report on the Tamaroa Mission submitted by de Montigny, it is astonishing, comments Taschereau, to see the Directors of the Seminary insist on retaining it. That they did so, he explains, was due to the wishes of Bishop St. Vallier, who saw in the presence of the Seminary clergymen among the Tamaroa a vindication of his authority.

As to Mr. de Montigny, he was not to return to America. The controversy, so it was said, had depressed and discouraged him. The Seminary Directors remonstrated with him, pointing out that his example would be ruinous to their American missions, that he would incur the reproach of fickleness and that no one would care to engage in a field of labor from which he had thus hurriedly withdrawn. But such representations were without effect. De Montigny insisted that he would go either to China, as a missionary, or to La Trappe. The Directors then offered to name him Superior of the Seminary of Quebec, where he might reside. Having declined this appointment, he was then admitted for the Oriental Missions. He left for the East in February, 1701, with the Msgr. Cicé, recently consecrated Bishop of Sabaula and Vicar Apostolic of Siam. Accompanying the latter to Pondicherry, he left thence for China where he joined Mr. Maignot and where he labored with successful zeal. In China he became secretary to Cardinal de Tournou and with his Eminence was exiled by the Emperor. Returning to France, he became Director of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris and this office he continued to hold until his death in 1725. In the story of Cahokia beginnings his name will be remembered, as it was under his supervision as Superior of the Seminary priests of the Mississippi that the Mission was originally laid out.³¹

IV

And now a successor to Father Bineteau as missionary to the Tamaroa was to be found in the person of Father François Pinet. On March 7, 1700, Mr. St. Cosme writes to Bishop St. Vallier that he was just then in receipt of a letter from Father Pinet in which the latter announces that he has been assigned to the Tamaroa and would shortly arrive among them. Two days later, March 9, he reached Cahokia with another Jesuit, Father Joseph de Limoges.³² Mr. St.

Cosme expresses surprise that Father Pinet had abandoned Chicago, where on the latter's own admission there was work for two men and where his successor, Father Mermet, was as yet unacquainted with the language of the Indians. Furthermore, numerous stations in the north were left without missionaries, as those among the Potawatomi, the Outagami, the Mascoutens, the Kickapoo, not to mention that of "Milouaki."³³ Obviously in that remote period Chicago and Milwaukee were not names to conjure with, and to Father Pinet and his associates meant at the moment very much less than the wretched collection of Indian huts which men called the Tamaroa village.

A native of Perigueux in France, Father Pierre-François Pinet was now in his fortieth year. He had taught rhetoric in Perigueux and Pau and in 1694 with Father Gabriel Marest had come overseas to Canada.³⁴ From the first his personal virtue attracted attention and frequent notices of it are to be met with in the correspondence of the period. Father Cauchetiere, who saw him after his landing at Quebec, notes his "zeal and abnegation."³⁵ Father Gravier, his Superior, calls him a "saint" and Father Marest portrays him as "a very holy and zealous missionary."³⁶ At Mackinac, where he began his missionary career in 1695, he fell under the displeasure of the irascible Cadillac by denouncing roundly from the pulpit the prevalent traffic in strong drink and the resulting ruin to his Indian flock. At Chicago in or about 1696 he set up for his Miami converts the first chapel in the history of the city. Driven from this mission-post, which bore the name of "The Guardian Angel of Chicago," by Frontenac, Governor of New France, he was allowed to reoccupy it through the intervention of Bishop Laval.³⁷ And now at Cahokia he was again to give an example of strenuous, indefatigable toil in the service of the Indians. His "zeal and labors were so greatly blessed by God," records his companion-missionary, Father Gabriel Marest, "that I myself am witness that his church could not contain the multitude of savages who came to it in crowds."³⁸

Not long after Pinet's arrival in Cahokia, in March, 1700, Mr. St. Cosme withdrew from the Mission, leaving Mr. Bergier as his successor in the care of the French. St. Cosme now took up his residence in Natchez, relieving Mr. de Montigny, who was about to or had already left that post for France. Six years later, in 1706, St. Cosme, while on his way to Mobile, was to perish at the hands of a band of Sitimachas Indians, probably near the present Donaldsonville.³⁹ He was born at Pointe Levis, near Quebec, January 30, 1667, and was ordained priest February 2, 1690, being the first native-born priest

of the New World, so it has been asserted, to lose his life at the hands of Indians within the limits of the United States. He was the second of the Seminary priests to die on the American Missions, Mr. Foucault, a Parisian, having also been murdered by Indians in 1702. "St. Cosme, accustomed to Indian corn and other native fare, stood the hardship of the mission better than priests from France, but his health at last gave way, and he was suffering from a cruel infirmity when he set out from Mobile."⁴⁰ Cahokia may well preserve the memory of him, for he was its first resident pastor, built its first church and, as far as we know, performed the earliest baptisms administered in that locality.

With Father Pinet there arrived at Cahokia, it will be recalled, another Jesuit, Father Joseph de Limoges. He was at this time but thirty-two years old, had been an instructor at Amiens, and had come to Canada in 1698. From Cahokia he was to descend the Mississippi in 1701 to open or continue a mission among the Houmas, near the mouth of the Red River. But it does not appear that he came down from Canada with this last-named destination in view. At his arrival in Cahokia he made known to St. Cosme his desire to plant the cross among the tribes of the Missouri River, especially the Osage, which the Jesuits were said to claim as their own ever since a band of these Indians had visited the Peoria mission in the August of 1699 and had there been fed by the Fathers.⁴¹ For missionary enterprise in this direction, so Father Limoges was reported as saying, the Jesuits needed no further permission from the Bishop of Quebec or his Vicar-General. On the other hand, Mr. Bergier, charged as Superior with the missionary projects of the Seminary priests, was unable for lack of subjects to extend their field of operations. "We cannot send a missionary to the Panis or Panimahas for Mr. de Cosme does not want to go there, and, moreover, a mission is needed at Natchez."⁴² Again, in May, 1702, Bergier writes: "The two principal missions where I should like to send [missionaries] if there were subjects and money, are the Cancez [Kansa] and the Panimahas [Loups] along the river of the Missouris. The Ozages are not so considered and the Missouris are almost reduced to nothing."⁴³

Meantime, Mr. Bergier, whose unacquaintance with the Tamaroa language made it necessary for him to restrict his ministry to the French of Cahokia, found himself in excellent relations with his Jesuit neighbors. "I live on very good terms with this Father [Pinet] and with Father Limoges; they carry on their mission always with indefatigable zeal and there is no prospect of my taking it in hand

as long as they shall be here unless the Bishop or you should order me to do so.”⁴⁴ Almost at the same time Father Bouvart, Superior of the Jesuit Missions of Canada, was sending information of a like tenor to Rome. “Although we are in contention with the Gentlemen of the Seminary of Foreign Missions over a village of Illinois savages which they wished to take from us, we have nevertheless dealt with one another amicably and the affair has been handled in such manner that both parties live there together in peace.”⁴⁵

V.

And now a new development, to react immediately on the situation in Cahokia, was taking place. In the May of 1699 d'Iberville, having opened a direct route from France to the Mississippi, established at Biloxi near the mouth of the great waterway the first French post in Lower Louisiana. The event had its reverberations up and down the Mississippi. The Kaskaskia of the Illinois River among whom Marquette had set up in 1675 the Mission of the Immaculate Conception, earliest outpost of civilization in the Valley of the Mississippi, were tempted to abandon their ancient habitat and move south in the hope of finding protection from their enemies in the vicinity of the newly erected fort. Father Gravier, being on his way from Chicago to the mouth of the Mississippi, arrived among the Kaskaskia in the mid-September of 1700, too late, as he writes, to prevent the migration of the Indians. In company with Father Gabriel Marest, resident Jesuit pastor of the Kaskaskia, he journeyed with the Indians for four days, after which the two missionaries went on ahead to the Tamaroa village. Here Father Marest, who had fallen sick, remained, while Father Gravier, on October 8, pursued his way south.⁴⁶ Later, most probably before the end of 1700, the Kaskaskia moving down the Mississippi, halted, in all likelihood at the instance of the missionaries, at the outlet of what is now called the Des Peres River, the present southern boundary of the city of St. Louis, and there on the bank of the little stream made a new settlement⁴⁷ This quickly took shape, most of the French residents of Cahokia hastening across the river to throw in their lot with the new-born settlement. A fort went up and Father Marest, coming over from Cahokia, resumed his functions as resident pastor of the Kaskaskia. For the circumstances thus attending the origin of Missouri's earliest center of civilized or semi-civilized life, we are dependent, as our only source of information, on a letter of Mr. Bergier written from Cahokia to Quebec, April 13, 1701.⁴⁸

1. The Kats [Kaskaskia] to the number of about thirty cabins have established their new village two leagues [five or six miles] below here on the other side of the Mississippi. A fort has been built there. Almost all the French have flocked thither.

2. The chief of the Tamarois followed by a few cabins has gone to join the Kats, drawn over by Rouensa, who makes large promises and gets himself believed when he says that he is called by the great chief of the French, as Father Maretz [Marest] has told him.

3. The rest of the Tamarois, composed of about twenty cabins, are to go very soon to join their chief already settled among the Kats. So there will remain here only the Kaoukias to the number of 60 or 70 cabins. They are now cutting the pieces for a fort.⁴⁹

Efforts, to which Father Marest was said to be a party, had thus been made and with partial success to induce the Tamaroa and Cahokia Indians to move across the river to the new village. Among other motives for migration it was alleged that such was the desire of d'Iberville, the chief French agent in Louisiana. In the April of 1701 Rouensa, the Kaskaskia chief, sent as many as twentytwo pirogues, Indian boats made of long, hollowed-out logs, to bring over the expected emigrants en masse to the Des Peres. Fresh efforts were apparently made at a later period to attract the reluctant Indians. On the evening of April 1, 1701 (1702?), Mr. Bergier, visiting in a cabin near the presbytery, suddenly heard loud cries without. He rushed forth from the cabin to find Long Neck, the Tamaroa chief, haranguing the natives and urging them with all the resources of Indian eloquence to abandon Cahokia for the Kaskaskia village, which had won for itself among the Indians the alluring soubriquet, "the Land of Life," (*La Terre de la Vie*). On the other hand Chickagoua, another Tamaroa chief, showed himself indifferent on the question of the hour and declared it was all one to him whether his people stayed or went. Bribes from Rouensa were not wanting, "five hundred rounds of powder," and, "a cask when the French shall have come up from the sea." Mr. Bergier addressed the Indians, no doubt through an interpreter. "I saw that most of them regretted the land, which is of more account than that on the other side, and that they went over only as a result of the solicitations and presents." He called upon Father Pinet to attend a council of Indian chiefs, where efforts would be made to stop the migration, but the latter declined to co-operate and even suggested a scruple of conscience to Mr. Bergier, saying that the Indians, by going over to Marest's mission on the Des Peres would be converted, a result that would never follow if they remained in Cahokia. Finally, to hold his Indians, Bergier had

to lay before them counter attractions, "a kettle, four pounds of powder, a pound of colored glass-beads and a dozen knives." In this tug of war Mr. Bergier seems to have come off victorious. The Indians remained at Cahokia, nor is it anywhere on record that any later emigration swelled the original twelve cabins that deserted to Rouensa. Efforts to entice the French away from Cahokia were also made and even, if Bergier was correctly informed, by Father Marest, "who has forgotten nothing to draw them over, even interposing the authority of Mr. d'Iberville. I see myself, so to speak, interdicted in my mission as well in regard to the French as the Indians and reduced to the saying of Mass in my chapel with Brother [?] Brebaut and Pottier." ⁵⁰

VI.

It was now going on two years since Bergier's arrival in Cahokia, during which time he had confined his ministry to the French, content to leave the Indians in the experienced hands of Father Pinet. At what precise time the latter was joined by Father Jean Baurie or Boré is not recorded. He seems to have succeeded Father de Limoges at Cahokia. At all events, before the mid-April of 1701 Father Baurie had left Cahokia for the Des Peres village, there to replace Father Marest, who had returned to his former post at Peoria.⁵¹ Thence, however, Father Marest was to return to the Des Peres, probably before the end of 1701.

The division of the ministerial field at Cahokia, however satisfactory to Mr. Bergier in the beginning, was not to last indefinitely. After all, it was for the care of the Indians, not of the French who might be attracted thither, that the priests of the Seminary had settled among the Tamaroa. A solemn authorization had been obtained from the Bishop of Quebec, money had been expended and hardships endured with an eye to their evangelizing the Indians of the Mississippi Valley, the Tamaroa in particular. Consequently, the enterprise of the Seminary of Quebec centered at Cahokia meant an Indian mission or it meant nothing. The Jesuits were to be tolerated there in the care of the Indians, but only until such time as the Seminary clergymen felt themselves equal to the task. Bergier and Pinet had arrived at Cahokia within a month of one another. Approximately two years later a crisis occurred in the relations between the two as Bergier intimated to the Jesuit his intention to extend his pastoral care to the Indians resident in the village, at the same time enjoining on the latter to discontinue his ministry in their behalf. We have

already learned that Mr. Bergier held the powers of Vicar-General from the Bishop of Quebec and was accordingly equipped with all the necessary sanctions for upholding his authority. He therefore made known to Father Pinet that failure to comply with the injunction to cease from his ministry would result in an interdict being laid upon his chapel. Pinet replied that being a child of the Church he would obey if the injunction were put in writing. This Mr. Bergier proceeded to do, but, if we can credit his account, which does not seem to be free from exaggeration, both Father Pinet and Father Marest made light of the document as being replete with misrepresentations of fact. However, Bergier sent a copy of the document to Canada, while Pinet, in the face of the interdict, continued his work among the Indians and, he did so, to use Bergier's epithet, "vigorously." Each of the two rival churches, Pinet's and Bergier's, had its bell, which, rung by a native, now summoned the Indians to services morning and evening at the same hour. A disedifying situation surely, as Bergier observes, not to mention the village-talk of which the two pastors and their disagreement became the frequent topic. "For each is supported by his party; but Father Pinet," so Bergier writes naively, "has abler defenders than myself and in greater numbers."⁵² It was a grievance, among others, of Mr. Bergier's that the Jesuit missionaries, who spoke the Indian language perfectly, refused to lend him aid in his own efforts to master it. This stand, so it was alleged, they decided to take, pending a definite settlement in France of the question at issue between them and the Seminary priests. Even on occasions when Pinet was unwell or absent and requested Bergier to replace him in his Indian chapel, he would stipulate that Bergier was merely to celebrate Mass and not to read aloud any prayers in the Indian language, which function it seems, the latter eventually felt himself competent to perform. These prayers Father Pinet preferred to leave to an Indian woman to recite rather than have them recited in public by Mr. Bergier. At the same time it will be recalled that the Seminary missionaries on passing through Peoria had received from the Jesuits resident there a catechism and collection of prayers in Illinois.

VII.

In a letter endorned "Aux Tamarois, 15 Avril, 1701," Mr. Bergier informs his correspondent that "Father Pinet remains here right along pending the new order." The "new order" was anxiously awaited at Cahokia, but it was long delayed. Mail between Europe and the mid-Mississippi came in haphazard fashion and at painfully

long intervals. Mr. Bergier writes happily from the Tamaroa, March 19, 1702, "feste de St. Joseph," that on the day before a canoe from the sea brought him three letters, one from Paris, dated November 27, 1700, another of September 28, 1701, from de Tonty, Fort Biloxi, "*a la mer*," and a third of November 8, 1701, from Mr. Bouteville at Natchez. The canoe had been six months coming up "from the sea," while the Paris letter was some fifteen months making the long journey to Cahokia. Evidently the decision at the French capital on the disagreement between the Jesuits and the Seminary priests would not become known to the missionaries actually on the ground until long after the event itself. And now let us see what the decision was to be.

A conflict of claims to a mission-field in New France was evidently an issue recognized on all hands as being within the competence of the French court to adjudicate, Court and Government in France being at this period practically identical institutions, as both were merged in the person of that classic symbol of absolute rule, Louis XIV. The process for the Jesuit order was in the able hands of Father de la Chaise, the King's confessor, himself a Jesuit and an outstanding figure, though not by choice, in the dazzling kaleidoscopic life that circled around Versailles as its focal point. The Duc de Saint-Simon, contemporary chronicler of Court-gossip, touches him off in a series of epithets; he was "of mediocre mind, but of good character, just, upright, sensible, prudent, gentle and moderate, an enemy of unfairness and of violence of every kind." To this confessor of his Louis XIV one day broached the subject of the disagreement between the Jesuits and the Seminary over the Tamaroa. "All I know, Sire," Father de la Chaise is reported to have said, feigning to be completely ignorant of the trouble, "is that we are made to be driven out by these gentlemen. They drove us out of Tonquin and Cochin China and now they would drive us out of Canada." The story comes to us in roundabout fashion and we cannot easily vouch for its authenticity; but it lends point to the irritation felt at the time by the Jesuits over the Tamaroa dispute, following close, as it did on the more important controversy with the Society of Foreign Missions over the Chinese rites. The Jesuits felt the loss of this forlorn mission-post in the New World as keenly, so at least it seemed to a certain Seminary clergyman of the day, as they would have felt the loss of the tabernacle of their great church of St. Louis, which the visitor to Paris may still see in the Rue St. Antoine. It is only in the light of the unfortunate Chinese rites controversy that the historian fully understands why such an apparently trivial issue

as the rival claims to the Tamaroa mission assumed these grave proportions.⁵³

When Bishop St. Vallier arrived in Paris towards the end of 1700 he presented to the French Court a Memoir accusing the Jesuits of wishing to contest his jurisdiction in the Mississippi country. Of his authority, so the Seminary historian Taschereau observes, the prelate was exceedingly jealous; and in the attitude of the Jesuits on the Tamaroa question he could see nothing else but an unwarranted infringement on his episcopal rights. They, on the other hand, as we pointed out above, saw in the Bishop's handling of the Tamaroa affair only an incidental move in what seemed a general policy on the prelate's part of unfriendliness towards the religious orders. An indication of such policy was probably to be found in the revoking (July 9, 1700) by Bishop St. Vallier of the faculties of Vicar-General previously granted to Superiors of Missions in the Mississippi Valley. Father Gravier appears to have ceased to be Vicar-General on this occasion, while three new appointments to the office were made by the Bishop, these being in favor of Messrs. de la Colombiere, de Montigny and Bergier, all Seminary clergymen and therefore secular priests. St. Vallier, so Tschereau writes, had thought it "more in conformity with the Church's order [practice] that [such] offices be held by ecclesiastics [secular priests] rather than by religious.

Meantime letters were being exchanged between Bishop Laval and Fathers de la Chaise and Lamberville, the last-named being the Paris Procurator of the Jesuit Missions of Canada. Lamberville writing to the Quebec prelate, April 1, 1700, petitions him to render justice to his brethren of the Mississippi country. He recalls to the prelate the kindly affection the latter had always shown towards the Society of Jesus and especially the service he rendered it seven years before by restoring to it the Mission of the Abenaki. He throws the blame for the present imbroglio on Mr. de Montigny, whose indiscreet zeal, so he declares, has been censured by Laval himself. Further, de Montigny had established himself at Tamaroa after having previously engaged not to do so, and had forbidden the Jesuits to exercise the ministry in that place. To these allegations Laval replies with the categorical statement that Binetau "of whom you speak to me, had never set foot in the place [i. e., the Tamaroa village] except after the Seminary missionaries had established themselves there. Marquette was there one day on his way to the Arkansas, Joliet being in his company." That Marquette visited the Tamaroa cannot be corroborated from other sources. While he does in fact indicate the

Maroa or Tamaroa on his holographic map of 1673-74, he makes no mention in his *Journal* of having visited the tribe, though one would scarcely urge this silence as conclusive evidence on the point in question. It may be conjectured that Laval named Marquette by mistake for Gravier, the only other Jesuit reported in contemporary records to have visited the Tamaroa before the Seminary priests. Continuing his reply to Lamberville, Laval deplors the dissension which the dispute had caused between the two missionary bodies, declaring that this consideration alone would have induced him to yield the Tamaroa post were it not considered indispensable. "Since you have been a witness of my sentiments and of the true and sincere affection which I have had for your mission of the Abenakis, where we have the consolation of seeing the missionaries of both houses visit one another frequently and live in close union, see that we are similarly obliged to you in the case of the Illinois and the Tamaroa." Writing at the same time (November 9, 1700) to Father de la Chaise, Bishop Laval, after qualifying as unfounded the assertion that there was any intention to drive the Jesuits away from the Tamaroa, adds that the whole affair "shows that while these missionaries are very good servants of God, they are not always self-restrained, their zeal being mingled at times with a bit too much of ardor." Some time previously, Laval, in a conference with Gravier in Quebec had expressed his astonishment to see the Jesuits complain of "a mission situated ninety leagues from their nearest establishment and judged necessary for the maintenance of all the other Seminary Missions." ⁵⁴

For an understanding of the point at issue between the Seminary of Quebec and the Jesuits we are thus left to depend almost entirely on documentary sources emanating from the former. There is a surprising meagreness of extant contemporary material contributed to the controversy by the Jesuits themselves. A few more or less casual references to it in letters of the period and the material is exhausted. There is no account of the affair from the Jesuit angle as fully detailed and documented as Taschereau's. Rochemonteix's, the most complete Jesuit version yet attempted, is not by any means adequate in its factual background of the controversy. We are accordingly left in the dark as to the manner in which the Jesuits met the allegations contained in Seminary correspondence on the subject. Substantially, and this is to repeat what we have already stated more than once, the Jesuit contention appears to have been that considerations of equity, if not of justice, demanded that a mission-field which had already been canonically assigned to them and which they were

making immediate preparations to work, should not be summarily taken out of their hands. The Tamaroa were beyond all question Illinois; and therefore, as a Laval Ms. (*Memoire sur l' établissement de la Mission des Tamarois*) expressed it, the Jesuits claimed that the Tamaroa mission-field was a *dependency* of their Mission of the Illinois.

At all events, the Jesuits now brought the controversy to an abrupt end by a voluntary decision not to press their claims. In the interests of peace and in consideration of Laval, the retired saintly Bishop of Quebec, and after having referred the entire affair to the General, Thyrus Gonzales, Father de la Chaise renounced the Jesuit claim to the Tamaroa mission in favor of the Seminary clergymen. "You may easily judge," he wrote to Bishop Laval, May 22, 1702, "of the desire which I have that our Fathers merit the continuance of your kindly offices and preserve a perfect union with the Gentlemen of your Seminary [of Quebec] from the sacrifice I have wished them to make through consideration for you, not only of a part of their primary school, which they have kept up entire for forty years, but also of the Tamarois post, notwithstanding all the reasons there were for confirming them in the possession of the same." The relation between the voluntary cession thus made by Father De La Chaise and the official settlement presently to be recorded is not altogether clear. Though the De La Chaise letter was written nearly a year later than the date of the settlement, (unless 1702 be an error for 1701), the renunciation of claims of which he speaks would appear to have preceded the latter. At all events an ecclesiastical commission, on which sat the Archbishop of Auch, as President, and the Bishops of Marseilles, Chartres and Quebec, was empowered by Louis XIV under a royal decree of May 27, 1701, to adjudicate the affair. Eleven days later, June 7, 1701, the commission announced a settlement in these terms: "the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions are to remain alone established in the place named of the Tamarois and are to receive fraternally the Reverend Jesuit Fathers when they pass through there to go and assist the Illinois and the Tamarois in their fishing and hunting quarters, in which quarters the Reverend Jesuit Fathers will be authorized to settle, if they deem it proper. Everything according to the good pleasure of the King and with the consent of the Bishop of Quebec." To this settlement, which was a compromise on the issue involved, both parties agreed, the Jesuits through Fathers Lamberville and Kervillars and the Seminary through Messrs. Brisacier, Thiberge and Tremblay of the Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions.

There was apparently the best of feeling all around over this outcome of the affair. The newly appointed Intendant of Canada, M. Beauharnois, who had interested himself in bringing about the "*agrément*," gave a dinner to both parties to the controversy, May, 1702 (1701?), while a few days later the Jesuits entertained Bishop St. Vallier in their country-house at Gentilly.⁵⁵

VIII.

June 12, 1702, the day being a Monday, a thrill of excitement ran through the Des Peres village as a flotilla of ten canoes which had come up from the mouth of the Mississippi put in at the river-bank. Among the French who arrived was Father Gravier and he carried with him in the Paris mail the long-awaited instructions on the vexed question of the Tamaroa Mission. At the first news of the coming of the French Mr. Bergier hastened to the other side of the river, but learned nothing from Father Gravier concerning the issue of the controversy. Then, returning to Cahokia, he found in letters addressed to him by the Director of the Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions and put in his hands by the young St. Cosme, who was of the party just arrived, detailed intelligence concerning the settlement that had been reached in Paris. The next or following day Father Pinet was at the Des Peres to welcome his Superior, Father Gravier, who advised him that he must straightway terminate his ministry among the Tamaroa. What followed is told graphically by Mr. Bergier in a letter to Canada, of date June 15, 1702.

On his return he [Father Pinet] showed me a letter of Father de Lamberville, he said, by which this Father states, if I remmeber correctly, that the Bishop had thrown himself on his neck and embraced him and pressed him so earnestly even in the name of the old Bishop to cede to us this mission that he could not resist and had perforce to surrender. He added that notwithstanding the agreement made between the Reverend Fathers and our Gentlemen, it had been stipulated verbally that these Fathers would not retire immediately and without a new order of the King, if it so pleased them. After this Father Pinet informed me that he was going to call [the Indians] for prayer in the evening and for Mass the following day, after which he would give a feast to the Indians to take leave of them and would then depart. I assisted at his feast in the chief's cabin, as he had asked me to do. He exhorted the Indians to persevere in prayer [and] to listen to me, representing to them that it was one and the same prayer, and adding, in order to console them, "that he was not going far, that he would not abandon them, that he would love them and always look upon them as his children. After the feast and dis-

course he brought me at the Mission the baptismal register, which he delivered to me and soon afterwards embarked for the Katz. He gave his house to a man named Le Lorrain, whom he installed therein before his departure. Here I am then delivered by the grace of God from the embarrassment which his [Ms. ?] and his pretensions caused me. But I am not for all that out of trouble, for not knowing the language except very poorly, it is not possible for me to maintain the mission on the footing on which the Father would have placed it, as he speaks the language perfectly and better than the Indians themselves.⁵⁶

It may have been that the particular adjustment of the Tamaroa affair which became known at Cahokia in the June of 1702 was not the final settlement decreed by the ecclesiastical commission, but the previous informal agreement entered into at Paris between Bishop St. Vallier and Father de Lamberville, the Procurator of the Jesuit Missions in Canada. This circumstance would perhaps serve to explain why Father Pinet did not at once sever all relations with the Tamaroa Mission, as we learn from a letter of Father Gabriel Marest written July 5, 1702, from the Des Peres village to Father de Lamberville. "Father Pinet, a very Holy and Zealous missionary, has left the mission at the Tamaroa, or Arkinsa, in accordance with your direction to me. But he has only half quitted it, for he has left a man in our house there who takes care of it; and thus we occasionally go thither from this place to show that we are obedient to the King pending the receipt of his orders."⁵⁷

Notwithstanding the disagreement between Mr. Bergier and his Jesuit neighbors on the question of jurisdiction, the amenities of social intercourse were apparently at no time interrupted on either side. There are indications that personal relations between them were not merely friendly but cordial. On June 23, 1702, only a few days after Father Pinet's retirement from Cahokia, Mr. Bergier was at the Des Peres village to make his confession and obtain a supply of the holy oils.⁵⁸ He dined with the Fathers and had a conference with Father Gravier, whom at a later date he was to characterize as "that good religious and missionary."⁵⁹ A letter of Father Marest written scarcely two weeks later refers to certain circumstances, the nature of which is not indicated, in which "Monsieur Bergier shows that he is a worthy member of the missions étrangères."⁶⁰

On the evening of July 5, 1702, Father Marest began his annual retreat (a period of retirement devoted to prayer and other spiritual exercises), after which he was to depart immediately for the Sioux country, leaving Father Pinet alone with the Kaskaskia, "to his

[Pinet's] great sorrow." ⁶¹ The Sioux excursion was evidently not undertaken, as Father Marest was at the Des Peres on August 1, on which day Father Pinet passed away. Death must have come to him with something of suddenness, as only three weeks before, Father Marest was planning to leave him alone in charge of the Kaskaskia. Very probably the end was hastened by the strenuous ministry in which he had been absorbed ever since his arrival in America. Only a few months before Father Gravier had written to Paris: "Father Pinet and Father Marest are wearing out their strength; and they are two saints who take pleasure in being deprived of everything—in order, they say, that they may soon be nearer Paradise." ⁶² Father Gravier's account of the destitution in which the Jesuit missionaries of the Illinois country were living is corroborated by Mr. Bergier, who, on March 21, 1702, at the very time Father Pinet's chapel lay under an interdict, wrote to Father Bouvart, Rector of the Jesuit College of Quebec: "Mr. Foucault has informed me that he wrote to you of the misery to which he saw Father Mermet reduced in his winter quarters of Chicagou. I am obliged to give you the same [information?] as to the Reverend Fathers Pinet and Gabriel [Marest], who in all their labors and sicknesses have lacked necessities and have been forced for some time back to live by borrowing."

Immediately on Father Pinet's death Father Marest despatched a letter by messenger to Mr. Bergier, requesting him to come and perform the funeral rites over the dead missionary and "this for the edification of the people." Mr. Bergier was in a quandary. For a Vicar-General to conduct the services of the Church over the remains of a clergyman who had disregarded his interdict and had apparently died under ecclesiastical censure would be a self-stultifying procedure, to say the least. But another view of the matter presented itself to the Vicar-General. "He persuaded himself," it is Mr. Bergier himself who writes, "that Father Pinet, whose piety he well knew, had disobeyed the interdict only to obey his Superiors, that he [Pinet] did not think that he had incurred the censure, that he died in good faith and as far as necessary had received absolution." ⁶³ Thus escaping from his perplexity, Mr. Bergier hurried across the river and assisted as celebrant at the funeral of Father Pinet. It was the earliest recorded death and burial on Missouri soil. Some words of the Vicar-General written at the time reveal his mind that the way to heaven had not been blocked for the dead missionary by the seemingly contumacious course which he pursued. "The death of Father Pinet, with whom I had been forced to have some differences that

might have continued had he lived; but God has provided by giving him, as I believe, eternal rest, which leaves me temporal rest." 64

At least one passage in the correspondence of Mr. Bergier indicates that he was not himself altogether clear as to the validity of the interdict imposed by him on Father Pinet's chapel. He once proposed the matter as a case of conscience to Father Gravier, whom he personally revered, but declined to acquiesce in the latter's opinion that the interdict might in *tuta conscientia* be disregarded. One thing, in any event, seems placed beyond the range of controversy, the attitude of good faith in which Father Gravier and his associates pursued the course they did. In the complete absence of Jesuit contemporary evidence on the point at issue we are not in a position to review the objective grounds on which the Jesuit Superior was led to justify the course laid down by him as one that might be safely followed by the missionaries dependent upon him. It seems clear, at all events, that he sincerely judged, rightly or wrongly, that the powers originally granted him as Superior of the Illinois Missions by Bishop St. Vallier might be lawfully exercised until such time as they should be set aside by an adverse decision from the tribunal to which the controversy had been appealed. And this one thing, the absence of anything like ill-will or disingenuousness in the stand taken by the Jesuit missionaries is the feature of the situation which it is especially gratifying to be able here to put on record. Against mistakes of judgment even the best of men are not immune; but mere display of party feeling or deliberate disregard of duty, how could one look back upon such with other feelings than those of the deepest regret? Camille Rochemonteix, the Jesuit historian, concedes that Bishop St. Vallier had a canonical right to take the Tamarois mission from the Society of Jesus and give it to the Seminary. And yet one reflects with the same historian that considerations of equity may sometimes militate against the exercise of otherwise perfectly valid powers. *Summum jus, summa injuria*. Reviewing the entire episode one sees how it was the persuasion that equity had been violated which led the Jesuit Superiors into the attitude of opposition which they took up against the Bishop of Quebec on the Tamaroa question; and on that persuasion, rightly or wrongly founded, they honestly acted until the question met with the solution which we have made known to the reader.

IX.

Life in Cahokia in the opening years of its career must have coursed in the same channels as those through which it flowed in other

early French settlements in the West. Voyageurs, coureurs des bois, hunters, traders, with a sprinkling of farmers made up the bulk of the French population, which as late as 1715 numbered no more than forty-five families. The earliest group of French settlers had come from Canada. Later, with the opening up of Lower Louisiana to settlement, there were accessions from the South. Father Bergier's letters throw little light on either religious or social conditions in the colony. There is a casual notice of some of the French making their Easter duty and gaining the Jubilee, and mention occurs of vows made by pious settlers to St. Joseph and St. Anne, two favorite Saints among the Canadians. In March, 1702, seventeen Frenchmen left Cahokia to ascend the Missouri two hundred leagues, there to build a fort between the Pawnees and the Iowa. They desired to take a missionary with them, but none was available. In the course of the expedition they were attacked by Indians and had to fortify themselves on an island in the river. In all probability they returned to Cahokia unharmed. This would seem to have been the earliest regularly organized expedition known to have gone up the Missouri.⁶⁶

Cahokia was a little more than a year old when it became a port of call for Le Sueur in his expedition of 1700 up the Mississippi to the Sioux country in the present Minnesota. The explorer's party, starving and almost unable for bodily weakness to row their boats upstream, had the good fortune one day in May of meeting Mr. Bouteville, the Seminary clergyman, then on his way from Cahokia with food-supplies for Messrs. Montigny and Davion in the South. On reading letters from de Montigny delivered to him by Le Sueur, Bouteville changed his plans and retraced his course up the river, but not before he had supplied the exploring party with food as far as his stores allowed. He carried with him on his return a letter from Le Sueur to his friend, Father de Limoges of Cahokia, begging the latter to come down the river with adequate provisions for Le Sueur's men. This de Limoges did, in a bark canoe manned by four men, meeting the expedition on June 16. "As soon as the Reverend Father disembarked, Mr. Le Sueur wished to extend to him his compliments and thanks; but the Reverend Father told him that before any compliments were passed, the sick should be first attended to. To which Mr. La Sueur made answer that he was himself the sickest of all and that everybody else was well, which surprised very much the Reverend Father and the four Frenchmen who had come with him. On returning to our launch, we were delighted to find so great an abundance of victuals. After we had taken them out of our canoe to put

them into our launch, everybody threw himself upon them. The Reverend Father was greatly astonished that we did not eat, each of us, the weight of a quarter-pound of meat and as much as a sort of biscuit or tart. But, by way of amends, we drank pretty freely of Spanish wine."

On July 1, 1700, La Sueur and his party reached Cahokia. "Eighteen [?] leagues from there [the Meramec] as you ascend, is the village of the Illinois, to the right of the Mississippi and on its bank. We put in there under sail to the great surprise of the Indians, who were especially astonished to see our launch, as they have only canoes made of bark from trees that come from Canada and some few pirogues like those in the lower Mississippi. They accosted us as we disembarked with more than thirty Canadian merchants, who came to trade in peltries. The French who were living with the Illinois turned out under arms and gave welcome to Mr. Leseur [Le Sueur], whom they had already seen in Canada. There were also in the village three French missionaries, one of them named Mr. Bergier, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, and the two others named Messrs. Bouteville and St. Cosme. There were also two Reverend Jesuit Fathers, Pinet and Limoges. The Christian Indians sang their calumet of peace for Mr. Le Seuer, who made them considerable presents. We remained seventeen days in this village, where four of our Frenchmen left us to go off to Canada. We took five others in their place, among them one named Chapongas, who served us as interpreter, for he spoke very well the languages of all these nations.

Before this village of the Illinois is an island which hides the approach to it. There is only one little arm of the Mississippi by which you land anywhere around the village. There is a very large prairie, at the end of which are some mountains which make a very fine perspective.

After having embraced all the persons of our acquaintance who came to escort us back to the landing-place we departed and went six leagues further up the Mississippi, where we found on the left a very large river called the Missouri." Le Sueur had left Cahokia July 17 with his launch, two canoes and nineteen men.⁶⁸

Fear of the Sioux was chronic in new-born Cahokia. In a letter to Canada dated as early as June 14, 1700, four months and a half after his arrival among the Tamaroa, Mr. Bergier describes vividly the horrors of a Sioux invasion on however small a scale.

We have frequent alarms here and we have several times been obliged to receive within our walls nearly all the women and children

of the village. Pentecost Sunday there was one [alarm], which was not without consequences. Four Sioux on the edge of the woods of the Tamarois in plain sight of the village, cut off the back of a slave belonging to a Frenchman; stabbed two women to death and scalped them; wounded a girl with a knife and crushed another under foot. They were all picking strawberries. We were about to finish compline when the chief ran to our door to warn us that the Sioux were killing them. He threw himself into Mr. de St. Cosme's canoe, with some Indians and Frenchmen to reconnoitre, partly by water and then by land. Great excitement prevailed. Finally the Sioux were discovered and three were captured, killed, burned and eaten. This is a horrible detail. It partakes less of war than of the wolf, the tiger and the demon. The last of these three Sioux who was burned only the next day was baptized by Father Pinet, who made use of the "Lorrain" as an interpreter. He [the Sioux] was the nephew of Ouakantape, chief of the Sioux, and because of this everyone was very much afraid that the Sioux will want to avenge his death and destroy the village some day. On the other hand the Shawnee, who are enemies of the Illinois, are feared. One may say that we are *inter lupos, in medio nationis pravae et perversae* [among wolves, in the midst of a wicked and perverse nation']. Their greatest and most universal passion is to destroy, scalp and eat men, that is all their ambition, their glory: an essential drawback to Christianity as long as it will last. But the mercy of Jesus Christ is all powerful. Beseech Him that He diffuse it very abundantly over this mission and over the missionaries and that he make them "*Prudentes ut serpentes, simplices ut columbae—Amen* ["prudent as serpents, simple as doves"]".⁶⁷

Two years later, in July, 1703, the Sioux menace still hovered over the defenceless village.

"All my Tamaroa and Cahokia Indians," writes Father Bergier, "have left for their summer hunt. Not a single one of them has remained behind with me and this on account of the Sioux, whom they fear with reason; I had planned to accompany them as I did last winter, but was unable to do so, as I have no one to watch my house. All the French who were here, fearing also to be killed or plundered are abandoning the village and are going, some to Father Maretz's [Marest's] Mission, some twenty-five leagues below on the river of the Metchigamias, others to the Oubache [Ohio] to be in security. Father Maretz has offered me his house by a letter which the Indians have just put into my hands. But it is impossible for me to abandon my own [house] with all my effects and those of other individuals who are absent. So I am staying here for six weeks with a young Panis [Pawnee] slave of nine or ten years, exposed to the inroads of the enemy, having for defense only the shield of the good will of the Lord, with which I cover myself. I have just learned that a Frenchman will stay with me."⁶⁸

The following year, 1704, Mr. Bergier was again to find himself alone in Cahokia after the departure of the Indians on their summer hunt. This time he requests Father Marest, (residing since the spring of 1703 at the new Kaskaskia village in what was later Randolph County, Illinois), to take charge of his effects, whereupon the latter sends two canoes and eight Frenchmen to Cahokia "to look for and bring me to his house," as Bergier writes from the Ohio on July 14. "For this among other [services] I am indebted to him." Almost down to the close of the eighteenth century the settlements of the mid-Mississippi were kept on edge by the truculent Sioux, the memory of one historic raid of the tribe being preserved in the name of the Creole village on the west bank of the river known as Portage des Sioux.

The most conspicuous figure among the French residents of Cahokia at this period was Michael Ako, or Akau, the half-breed companion of Father Hennepin in his historic travels. He was married to Aramepinchicue, daughter of the Kaskaskia chief, Rouensa, her parents compelling her much against her will to become his wife. At Peoria he set himself in opposition to Father Gravier, seeking to diminish the missionary's influence with the Indians; but he repented and promised to amend his ways, which he did. It was at the instance of Michael Ako that Rouensa and his family embraced the Faith, their fidelity to the demands of Christian life eliciting the repeated praise of the missionaries.⁶⁹ In particular, Ako's wife, the chief's daughter, gave unmistakable tokens of exalted virtue thriving in the midst of savage surroundings. Though not referring to her by name, it is apparently this remarkable woman that Father Bine-teau portrays in a letter to Mr. de Montigny.

Virtue seems to be born with her, her heart is ever burning with divine love, one needs only to say a word on this subject and she becomes entirely recollected and enters within herself. Her devotion and modesty in church is very great and remarkable. She reprehends publicly the faults which are committed in the village and pardons nothing to herself. . . . She bears a holy envy towards such as ask pardon publicly in chapel for their bad conduct. All the Indians speak of her in terms of great esteem, even the heathen of the mission having the same sentiments in her regard.⁷⁰

In the spring of 1700, just about the time of Mr. Bergier's arrival at the mission, a son of this saintly woman was sent by the missionaries from Cahokia to Quebec to be educated there.

"We are sending you," wrote Mr. St. Cosme to Bishop St. Vallier, "the son of Michael Ako, who appears to have considerable talent. His father renders us every service in his power and his [Ako's] father-in-law, the chief of the Illinois, is a man who can help us, for he is a good Christian and has much ability. It gives these people great pleasure when one shows friendliness towards their children. If the little boy could only succeed and become one day a missionary, it would no doubt be a great boon to the missions [Ms. ?] The child's mother is a woman of extraordinary example and virtue. Mr. Bergier is writing to you about her." ⁷¹

What befell the youthful Ako is nowhere on record. At all events, he did not return as a priest, as the pious missionary had hoped, to evangelize his own or any other people.

X.

Even before the departure of Father Pinet, as was noted above, Mr. Bergier had extended his pastoral care to the Indians, a band of whom he accompanied on their winter-hunt of 1702-3. In April, 1703, he notes the baptism by his own hand on Easter Saturday of a group of eleven, some of them presumably Indians, the group consisting of four men, three women, a grown-up girl and three children.⁷² He had much to endure in the beginning from the medicine-men, who made every effort to thwart his ministry, but came off victorious in the contest and was able subsequently to pursue his missionary work in peace. Unfortunately, the differences between the Jesuit missionaries and the priests of the Foreign Missions, healed, it was hoped, by the settlement of the Tamaroa affair, again became acute in consequence of their rival claims to the new missionary field opened up in the South with Mobile as center. The Jesuits had occupied it first and were followed by the priests of the Quebec Seminary. Efforts made to have Bishop St. Vallier divide the field assigning separate districts to the two bodies proved fruitless, and as no hope of a satisfactory settlement was in sight, the Jesuits, under orders from the Father-General, withdrew entirely in 1703 from the lower Mississippi Valley. They were not to re-enter until 1724. In 1707 Mr. Bergier was contending that the powers of Vicar-General communicated by the Bishop of Quebec to the Jesuit Superior of the Illinois Missions were restricted to the Indians and did not extend to the French residing in Indian missions conducted by the Jesuits.⁷³ This interpretation of his powers Father Gravier protested vigorously in a letter to the Father-General, Michael Angelo Tamburini. "Mr. Bergier has said that on the first alarm of an enemy, he would

abandon the place and come here [to Paris] ; but I can hardly believe that he will leave it if we do not." ⁷⁴ These are the words of Father Gravier. As a matter of fact, Mr. Bergier, whose quick, impressionable nature reveals itself in his correspondence, seems to have spoken and written at times with a touch of playful exaggeration. It is not likely that he ever seriously contemplated abandoning his post. Certain it is at all events that he died at it.

On New Year's day, 1707, Mr. Bergier, who had gone down from Cahokia, reached Mobile with tidings he had picked upon the way of the tragic death of his brother-priest of the Seminary, St. Cosme. Shortly after his return to Cahokia he fell dangerously ill. At the news Father Gabriel Marest hastened up from Kaskaskia to assist him. The account which the Jesuit gives of the last illness and death of the second pastor of Cahokia is of such immediate interest for the pioneer history of the historic place that we transcribe it *in extenso*. As his neighbor for some years in Cahokia and the Des Peres village and as his confessor during the same period, Father Marest was in a position to witness to the merit of this devoted missionary.

I remained eight entire days with this worthy ecclesiastic; the care that I took of him and the remedies which I gave him, seemed gradually to restore him, so that believing himself better,—and knowing, besides, how necessary my presence was to my own Mission on account of the departure of the savages, he urged me to return to it. Before leaving him, I administered to him, by way of precaution, the holy Viaticum; he instructed me as to the condition of his Mission, recommending it to me, in case that God should take him away. I charged the Frenchman who took care of the patient to inform us at once, if he were in danger; and I retraced the way to my Mission.⁷⁵

Arriving at the Kaskaskia village Father Marest found his Indians gone to scatter themselves up and down the Mississippi. He visited the various bands, but at the first opportunity returned to his headquarters.

The good old man whom I had left so sick and the illness of Monsieur Bergier continually disturbed me and urged me to return to the village, that I might hear news of them. Accordingly I ascended the Mississippi, but it was with great toil; I had only one savage with me and his lack of skill obliged me to paddle continually, or to use the pole. . . . As soon as I reached our village I wished to go to see Monsieur Bergier; but the people opposed this alleging as a cause that, no one having brought news of him—as had been promised in case he was worse—they could not doubt that his health was re-established. I yielded to their reasoning; but, a few days afterward I felt

genuine regret for not having followed my first plan. A young slave came about two o'clock in the afternoon to apprise us of his death, and beg us to go to perform the funeral rites. I set out forthwith. I had already gone six leagues when night overtook me; a heavy rain which had fallen did not permit my taking a few hours rest. Therefore I walked until daybreak, when, the weather having cleared a little, I lighted a fire to dry myself, and then continued my way. I arrived at the village toward evening, God having given me strength to walk these fifteen in a day and a night. The next day at dawn I said Mass for the deceased and buried him.

The death of Monsieur Bergier was somewhat sudden, according to what was told me by the Frenchman who was with him; he felt it coming all at once, and said that it would be useless to send for me, since he would be dead before my arrival. He merely took in his hands the crucifix, which he kissed lovingly and expired. He was a missionary of true merit and of a very austere life. At the beginning of his Mission he had to bear rude attacks from the Charlatans,—who, availing themselves of his slight knowledge of the Savage language, every day took away from him some Christians; but, eventually, he learned how to make himself in his turn, feared by these imposters. His death was for them a cause of triumph. They gathered around the cross that he had erected, and there they invoked their Manitou—each one dancing and attributing to himself the glory of having killed the Missionary, after which they broke the cross into a thousand pieces. I learned this with great grief afterwards.⁷⁶

Father Marest, thinking that such an outrage as the destruction of the mission-cross should not go unpunished, called upon the French to stop trading with the Indians until they made reparation for the insult offered by them to the most cherished symbol of Christianity. The Indian promptly repented, their chiefs twice presenting themselves very humbly before Father Marest to sue for pardon. Thereupon, as a pledge of good-will to the Indians, he engaged to visit Cahokia from time to time from his own mission of Kaskaskia until such time as the Quebec Seminary should send a successor to Father Bergier. Father Marest no doubt lived up to his engagements. The date of one visit of his to Cahokia at this period is recorded, Easter Sunday, 1711, on which day he set out from there accompanied by a few Indians and having with him nothing but cassock and breviary to journey to distant Mackinac, where he hoped to meet his Jesuit brother, Father Joseph Marest.⁷⁷

Meantime, the principals in the Tamaroa drama had passed from off the stage, all except Bishop St. Vallier, who lingered on until 1727, regretting his one-time unpleasantnesses with the Jesuits and ready to see them lapse into oblivion. Taking a Jesuit confessor for himself

and placing Jesuit confessors in the convents of Quebec, from which they had previously been excluded, he sought throughout the declining years of his episcopate to extend to the Society of Jesus in his diocese every token of confidence and good-will.

The economic position of the Mississippi missions had been a distressing one from the beginning. The Seminary Directors had urged Mr. Bergier to keep a close eye on expenses and restrain the missionaries from taking too many tribes under their care at once. In particular Mr. St. Cosme was to be prevented from going to the Panis or the Missouri, where it would be impossible to send him relief. It would be better to begin with the nearest tribes and expand little by little. The first expedition had cost the Seminary 10,000 livres. A second expedition, sent out in 1700 and consisting of Messrs. Foucault and Bouteville, cost as much, while the same sum again is recorded for the expenses of the party that went down from Canada in 1719. The annual subsidy allowed by Louis XIV was faithfully paid until 1717, though mostly in paper-money or treasury notes, while all the expenses of the expedition sent out between 1705 and 1724 had to be met in silver. The subsidies received during all this period did not bring the missionaries a thousand silver crowns.⁷⁸

At any rate the French Government had regularly paid the promised annual grants. But in 1724 complaint was made to Louis XV that the Company of the Indies, who took over the Louisiana colony in 1717, had failed year by year to pay the annual grant of 600 livres in French silver, which it had pledged in favor of every Seminary missionary resident in its territory. Nothing was received from the Company even for Mr. Mercier, "for having accompanied M. de Bourgmond to the discovery of the Missouri and for having remained with him all the time he was there."⁷⁸ Louis XV is then petitioned by the Seminary to bring pressure to bear on the Company to pay the promised subsidy. The one thing that keeps the Seminary priests at Cahokia, so they declared in a memoir of 1724, is "the hope they have that this little establishment will serve as entrepot and nursery for the spreading of missionaries among the savages of the Missouri, where they were the first to go and with which they can easily communicate from the place where they are now established."⁷⁹

After Mr. Bergier's death in 1707 no Seminary priest was to be found at Cahokia until 1712. In that year Mr. Dominic Varlet, Doctor of the Sorboune and subsequently a bishop *in partibus infidelium*, holding which dignity he was eventually to sever his connection with Rome and become a Jansenist, arrived on the scene with

the powers of Vicar-General from the Bishop of Quebec. After spending some time at Cahokia he returned to Quebec to induce the Seminary to send more missionaries. As a result, Messrs. Calvarien, Thaumur de la Source, and Mercier arrived among the Tamaroa in 1719. Mr. Mercier in particular was to qualify himself as missionary to the Missouri River tribes, some of whom he was actually to meet during the period (1723-8) he served as Bourgmond's chaplain at Fort Orleans. He was the pioneer resident priest of the Missouri Valley and in him the Seminary of Quebec realized in some measure its early dreams of zealous evangelical work in the Trans-Mississippi West.⁸⁰ To replace Messrs. Calvarin and Thaumur de la Source, who returned to Canada, came later Messrs. Gagnon and Laurent. Mr. Mercier died holily, as he had lived, March 30, 1753. The last view we have of him in life is in the composite picture of the Cahokia Seminary priests Gagnon, Laurent, Mercier, drawn by the Jesuit Vivier of Kaskaskia in 1750. "Nothing can be more amiable than their character, or more edifying than their conduct. We live with them as if we were members of the same body."⁸¹

In 1754 Messrs. Gagnon and Laurent were joined by Mr. François Forget Duverger, the last missionary sent by the Quebec Seminary to the Mississippi. On the cession of the east bank of the Mississippi to the English at the end of the momentous struggle between Great Britain and France for the West, Mr. Forget, needlessly alarmed lest it be confiscated by the English, sold the Seminary property at Cahokia or much of it, 1764, and hurriedly recrossed the ocean. By a singularly strange coincidence he found himself a fellow-passenger on ship with the Jesuit missionaries recently employed up and down the Valley of the Mississippi, who were likewise returning to France after the violent striking down of their establishments by the French colonial administration at New Orleans. Together the Society of Jesus and the Seminary of Quebec had entered the field of missionary endeavor centered at the Tamaroa village, together they now withdrew from the same field after sixty-five years of service on behalf of Indian and white alike.

With the passing of Forget the last link of association between the Seminary clergymen and their legitimate offspring, historic Cahokia, was definitely broken. One single Jesuit, Father Louis Sebastian Meurin, still tarried in the region of the mid-Mississippi and when he died in 1777, after holding the first religious services in the newly founded city of St. Louis, the first period of Jesuit missionary enterprise in the Valley of the Mississippi was at an end. Looking back

at the circumstances that issued in the founding of Cahokia, one cannot fail to see that the episode is intertwined with all that was noblest and best in the human energies that went to the earliest making of the American West. Across Cahokia beginnings may be projected the shadow of a rather depressing controversy over ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but in the perspective of the years the controversy shrinks into the petty proportions of the inconsequential thing it was, while all that was substantial in the story looms in the foreground with a poignancy of appeal that grows ever greater as the years wear on. And the substance of the story is in the courage, the daring, the sacrifice of self, the impulse to humanitarian and Christ-like service that led the members of either missionary body to blaze a way through the wilderness that they might preach the Gospel, the while, building better than they knew, they helped to lay the first rude foundation-stones in the fabric of the great commonwealth of Illinois.

NOTES

For access to the correspondence of the Seminary clergymen now preserved in the Archives of Laval University, Quebec, the writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Amadée Gosselin, archivist and one-time Rector of the University named. This important manuscript material has been supplemented by the transcripts of documents from the same archives now to be found in the Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois. These transcripts include, besides various contemporary Memoirs on the Tamaroa Mission, (listed as Laval Mss.), an unpublished historical narrative (73 pp.) of the Mission compiled by the Rev. E. A. (subsequently Cardinal) Taschereau, *Histoire du Séminaire de Québec chez les Tamarois ou Illinois sur les bords du Mississippi, 1849*. This is a well-documented work presenting the Tamaroa controversy from the Seminary standpoint. A Jesuit account of the controversy, the only detailed one in print, is embodied in the work of Camille de Rochemonteix, S. J., *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au xvii^e siècle d'après beaucoup des documents inédits*, Tome III, Paris, 1896. Accounts of Tamaroa beginnings are also to be found in the biography of Venerable Bishop Laval by the Abbé Auguste Gosselin, *Vie de Mgr. De Laval*, 2 v., 190. The same scholarly Canadian historian has also written a life of Bishop St. Vallier, forming the first part of his *L'Église du Canada Depuis Monseigneur de Laval jusqu' à la Conquête*, Quebec, 1911. Other sources, manuscript or printed, utilized in the preparation of this paper are indicated in the foot-notes.

¹ *Memoire au sujet de la Mission des Tamarois* (Laval Mss.). The Tamaroa had become known to the French from their first entrance into the Mississippi country. Marquette and Jolliet, if we can credit a statement of Bishop Laval's to be referred to later, visited the tribe in their epoch-making descent of the Mississippi, 1673. Hennepin records a visit to the Tamaroa village in March, 1680. La Salle and his party were there in February, 1682, while at a later period de Tonty nearly lost his life in an encounter with the Tamaroa in their

native habitat. The spelling Tamaroa is the one adopted by the American Bureau of Ethnology. (See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, art. *Tamaroa*, where some twenty variants of the name are listed). The form Tamaroa was used by La Salle. According to Hodge, Tamaroa signifies etymologically "of the cut tail."

* The foregoing account of the circumstances attending the inception of the Tamaroa Mission is based chiefly on Taschereau, *op. cit.*, p. 6 *et seq.* The French text of the three letters-patent issued by St. Vallier is in Rochemonteix, 3:551-553.

* Taschereau, *op. cit.*, p. 4. The extent to which both Bishop Laval and Bishop St. Vallier became interested in the new missionary venture is revealed by the appeals they made to France for a government subsidy in its behalf. Letters to this effect, most of them signed by both prelates and all dated September 25, 1698, were addressed to Madame de Maintenon, the Archbishop of Paris, and the ministers de Maurepas and de Pontchartrain. The Archbishop is asked to speak to the King and to represent to him the importance of the new missions and "the perfect union in which we live and to which you have so much contributed." To Madame Maintenon it is represented that the Jesuits receive 6000 livres from the King every year and that the Sulpicians receive a similar amount for their Indian mission on the island of Montreal. The Seminary has incurred an initial expense of 10,000 livres "for the important missions which it has begun to establish on the Mississippi River"; but it cannot maintain them without a subsidy. M. de Ponchartrain is informed that both Governor Frontenac and the Intendant have given the new mission their decided approval. For twenty years the Indians of Acadia have been evangelized by the Seminary, "the chief end and institute of which is to devote itself to the conversion of the most abandoned heathen nations." The petitions on behalf of the Seminary missions of the Mississippi thus addressed by the Quebec prelates to the highest functionaries of Church and State in France met with a favorable response though not without some delay. In 1703 Louis XIV finally granted the missions an annual appropriation of 3000 livres as a charge on the royal treasury, adding in 1705 a grant of 1500 livres for a curé on the lower Mississippi.

A passport to the Mississippi country was furnished the missionaries by the Count de Frontenac, "Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in all New France." The document, a remarkable one in the grandiose and solemn character of its terms, is reproduced in the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, 5:200. It is dated from Three Rivers, July 17, 1698, and, so it declares, was issued at the petition of "their Lordships, the Bishops who are in this country." The missionaries were authorized to start from Montreal in four canoes manned by twelve men, "And we give permission to the said Reverend Missionaries to load in their canoes their stores and other articles they may require for their subsistence, maintenance and settlement; and we are more so voluntarily disposed to help them that we are persuaded that there is no human motive mixed with the intentions of the Reverend Missionaries, they having in view only the glory of God and the desire of propagating the Faith."

* Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago, 1773-1871*, p. 19.

* *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites) 65:61. In accordance with prevalent usage during the period to which our narrative belongs the Seminary clergymen, as being

members of the secular priesthood, will be designated throughout this article by the prefix Monsieur or Mr. instead of Father.

⁶ Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 346.

⁷ *Jesuit Relations*, 65:85.

⁸ Kellogg, *op. cit.* The exact place where the missionaries said Mass on the site of St. Louis, December 8, 1698, cannot be determined, though conjecture has been made that it was at the foot of Arsenal Street or close thereto.

⁹ "lors du retour de M. Montigny et M. de St. Cosme qui fût au mois de mars [1689]." So St. Vallier in his letter of February, 1700, to Gravier. However, there are indications that St. Cosme had returned from the Arkansas to the Tamaroa village in January or February. Thus Mr. de Montigny writes February 27, 1699, from the Arkansas: "For the present I remain with the Taensas; but I am shortly to go to the Natchez. Mr. de Saint-Cosme remains at the Tamaroa village." (Archives Nationales, Paris, K 1374:83). Again de Montigny writes March 3, 1699 (Archiv. Nationales, K 1374:82): "The two gentlemen of the seminary of foreign missions of Quebec who came with me, have been placed, one among the Tamarois, the other among the Tonicas [Mr. Davison]; as for myself, I remain with the Taensas and Natchez."

¹⁰ St. Vallier à Gravier, Feb. 1700. Laval University Archives.

¹¹ St. Cosme à Monseigneur [St. Vallier?], March, 1700. La Source à "ma Reverende Mere, de Chicagou, ce 19 Avril, 1699." This letter of La Source in the Archives Nationales, Paris, is indexed K 1374:84 (Dossier, "Canada"). For the text of de Montigny's Chicago letter of April 23, 1699, cf. Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673-1871*, p. 19.

¹² De Montigny à Monseigneur [St. Vallier], "sur la Mission des Mississippi des Taensas ce 25 Aoust, 1699."

¹³ De Montigny à Monseigneur [St. Vallier], August 25, 1699. This letter gives May 14 as the date of de Montigny's return to Cahokia from Chicago. A St. Cosme letter of March, 1700, has May 20.

¹⁴ Bergier à Monseigneur (St. Vallier), February, 1700. De Tonty who was with La Salle's party on their visit to the Tamaroa in February, 1682, counted 124 cabins in their village (Margry, 1:594). Later, in a Relation of 1700, he computes the men of the village at 400. *Thought*, September, 1926.

¹⁵ Bergier à ———, June, 1700.

¹⁶ *Jesuit Relations*, 65:61.

¹⁷ *Jesuit Relations*, 64:161.

¹⁸ Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, 3:573. Cf. also d'Iberville au Ministere, February 15, 1700: "il est necessaire que cette Mission reste aux uns ou aux autres. D'Iberville pense que toutes les nations Illinois dont est celle la [Tamarois] devraient etre aux Jesuites."

¹⁹ *Jesuit Relations*, 65:71.

²⁰ St. Vallier à Gravier, February, 1700. St. Cosme in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec, March 1700, insists that Allouez and Bineteau had never been at the Tamaroa village and that Gravier had been there only for two or three days; moreover that Bineteau had never seen the Mississippi below the Missouri.

²¹ De Montigny à Monseigneur ———, August 25, 1699.

²² De Montigny à ———, Jan. 2, 1699. Archives Nationales, Paris K, 1374, 83.

²³ St. Cosme à Monseigneur, ———, March, 1700.

²⁴ St. Cosme à Monseigneur (St. Vallier), March, 1700.

²⁵ Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, 3:541.

²⁶ *Jesuit Relations*, 66:253. In contemporary official Jesuit lists or registers the date of Bineteau's death is recorded as December 25, 1699. Rochemonteix 3:541, has the date December 24 of the same year, apparently a mistake.

²⁷ *Jesuit Relations*, 66:25.

²⁸ Bouvart ad ———, October 5, 1700. General Archives, S. J.

²⁹ St. Cosme à Monseigneur (St. Vallier), March, 1700. Margry, 5:407.

³⁰ Taschereau, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³¹ *Id.*, 10-14.

³² St. Cosme à Monseigneur (St. Vallier?), March, 1700.

³³ St. Cosme à Monseigneur (St. Vallier?), March 7, 1700.

³⁴ *Jesuit Relations*, 64:278.

³⁵ *Id.*, 64:149.

³⁶ *Id.*, 66:25,37.

³⁷ *Id.*, 65: 55.

³⁸ *Id.*, 66:257.

³⁹ Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 550.

⁴⁰ Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

⁴¹ St. Cosme à Monseigneur, March, 1700.

⁴² On the other hand, the Seminary Directors in Paris were urging upon Mr. Bergier that St. Cosme be prevented from going to the Panis, where it would be impossible to send him supplies.

⁴³ Bergier à ———, May 4, 1702.

⁴⁴ Bergier à ———, June 14, 1700.

⁴⁵ Bouvart ad ———, October 5, 1700. General Archives, S. J.

⁴⁶ *Jesuit Relations*, 65:103.

⁴⁷ ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, 9: 342, art. "The first Settlement on the site of St. Louis.

⁴⁸ The French "establishment" found by Le Sueur at the mouth of the Saline (——— County, Missouri) in June, 1700, was apparently nothing more than a salt-camp, probably occupied only at certain seasons of the year. Penicault (*Relation*, Margry, 5:407), the chronicler of the Le Sueur expedition, gives no particulars about it. "The Illinois and the French came there to obtain their salt." So also de Tonty in his *Relation* of 1700 (*Thought*, September, 1926, p. 205.) "Une fontaine (at the Saline) ou nous faisons du Sel."

The existence of the French-Indian settlement at the mouth of the Des Peres, long a matter of vague tradition only (the Des Peres, i. e. "the Fathers' River") has been established on a basis of contemporary documentary evidence by the Rev. Laurence Kenny, S. J., of St. Louis University in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, 1:151-156. That the settlement was located on the right bank of the Mississippi a short distance below the site of St. Louis is made certain by Father Bergier's correspondence, supplemented by other eighteenth-century testimonies. For its exact location we have the Bergier statement (repeated elsewhere in his letters) that it was two or three leagues below Cahokia. There is always more or less of uncertainty as to the linear value of the term "league," as used by the French in colonial America. Taking the term as used by Bergier to represent two and a half or three miles (French marine league), the Des

Peres village is placed by him at some five or seven miles below Cahokia. This would locate it some distance below the Des Peres river. (D'Artaguiette's *Journal* reduces the distance. "June 6 [1723] at daybreak we embarked and came to get breakfast at the old village of the Cahokias, which is on the left as you ascend, a league and a half distant from the Cahokias." Newton D. Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, New York, 1916, p. 80.)

That the Kaskaskia settlement was actually at the mouth of the Des Peres is established beyond doubt by the statement occurring in a Seminary Memoir of 1735: "the river du pont issues likewise from a marsh and courses with a gentle flow into the Mississippi almost opposite the old village of the Kaskaskia." The mouth of the river Du Pont is almost directly across from the mouth of the Des Peres. Furthermore, the same Memoir declares that among the advantages of the old village-site of the Kaskaskia was a "river to harbor the boats." "The old village of the Kaskaskia is regarded with reason as a very advantageous site for the stone-fort [future Fort Chartres], which the Court orders built in the Illinois. Limestone, wood for construction, a river to harbor the boats, a view over the Mississippi about two leagues up and two leagues down, the rocky bluff which slopes very gently down to the Mississippi, a fine prairie adjoining said bluff, the Mississippi which would be under the protection of the fort, the Missouri, too, which empties into the river five leagues from here on the west side of the said river and the Illinois river which mingles its waters therewith eleven leagues from here on the west [east], all these considerations would seem to insist on the necessity of building the fort in question in this place, as is very much the talk now. In this case the Seigneurie of the Tamarois would soon be established from one end to the other." *Explication du plan et établissement de la Seigneurie de la Mission des Tamarois*. Des Tamarois, April 12, 1735. Laval Mss.

As to whether the Kaskaskia village stood north or south of the Des Peres, evidence to settle this point is furnished by a De Lisle map of 1703, which seems to locate the village on the north bank and therefore within the present municipal-limits of St. Louis. (This map is reproduced in Clark. More decisive, however, is a map in the French archives, Department of the Marine, dated Paris, May 19, 1732, and based upon data gathered by Diron D'Artaguiette in his ascent of the Mississippi in 1719. It clearly indicates the "ancient village de Cahokia" as being on the north bank of the Des Peres. A photostat copy of this map is in the Karpinski collection of maps from the French Archives, a set of which is in the Newberry Library, Chicago. It is reproduced in the *Missouri Historical Society Review*, June, 1928.

The Des Peres village was abandoned by the Kaskaskia in the spring of 1703 for a new settlement on the banks of the Kaskaskia river in Randolph County, Illinois.

"Edward Joseph Fortier, *The Establishment of the Tamarois Mission* in *Transactions of Illinois Historical Society*, 13:238.

"Bergier à ———, March 13, 1702.

"Bergier à ———, April 13, 1701.

"Bergier à ———, March 13, 1702; April 13, 1701.

"Taschereau, *op. cit.*, 4-5.

"*Id.*, pp. 8-10. Margry, *op. cit.*, 4:635.

⁸⁵ The account in the text follows for the most part Rochemonteix *op. cit.*, 3:571-572. Taschereau makes no mention of any voluntary withdrawal of the Jesuits from the controversy. However, Bergier, in a letter of June 15, 1702, to be cited later, refers to De Lamberville's provisional surrender of the mission in dispute, pending a decisive order from the King. As a matter of fact, the Jesuits retired from the Tamaroa mission even before the final settlement of the affair at Auch in June, 1702, became known to them. (The sessions of the commission were held at Auch and the "agrement" was signed there.) Rochemonteix cites a clause, presumably from the "agrement" to the effect that "the Ohio posts are in the territory of the Jesuit missions." This clause is not found in the text of the document as reproduced in the Laval Mss (Illinois Historical Survey). The only Jesuit mission on the Ohio at this period was the one conducted for a brief period at Juchereau's attempted settlement on or near the site of Cairo, Illinois.

⁸⁶ Bergier à ———, June 15, 1702.

⁸⁷ *Jesuit Relations*, 66:37.

⁸⁸ Bergier à ———, June 25, 1702.

⁸⁹ Bergier à ———, June 12, 1704.

⁹⁰ *Jesuit Relations*, 66:37.

⁹¹ *Id.*, 66:39.

⁹² *Id.*, 66:25.

⁹³ Bergier à ———, March 1, 1703.

⁹⁴ Bergier à ———, December 17, 1702. Writing from the Des Peres village July 5, 1702, to Father de Lamberville, Father Marest makes a brief reference to the difficulties with Mr. Bergier: "Inform him [Mr. Bergier] of the ruling by which the vicars-General have no right to visit our churches or to hear confessions in them without our consent. I am convinced that these missions will receive rude shocks, they were beginning to be on a good footing. This caused jealousy in the minds of the gentlemen of the missions etrangers, who have come to take them from us. God grant that they may leave them in a better condition than we have done." (*Jesuit Relations*, 66:37). It appears improbable that mere jealousy dictated the entrance of the Seminary priests into the field of the Mississippi Valley missions. Yet there seems to be no reason to doubt of Father Marest's sincerity in taking this narrow view of the situation.

⁹⁵ Bergier à ———, March 4 (?) ; April 16, 1703.

⁹⁶ *Margry, op. cit.*, 5:405-7. Cahokia was originally on or very close to the east bank of the Mississippi. Victor Collet, visiting the place in 1796, found it a mile inland from the river. D'Artaguiette, who was in the "French village" in 1723, places the Indian village an eighth of a league (about a third of a mile) north of the former. A contemporary description of unknown authority and date (possibly 1720 or shortly after) has these particulars: "The real prairie of the Cahokias (where the gentlemen of the Missions are established as well as the Illinois who have named the village of the Cahokias) is about two leagues long from the southwest to the northeast, by three-quarters of a league wide in the most prominent place, so that it nearly forms a long square. It is bounded to the northwest by a small fringe of woods about a half league wide. This projects from an arm of the Mississippi nearly up to the heights beyond which there is another prairie, but I have never seen it." (*Transactions of the*

Illinois State Historical Society, 13:239). Present-day Cahokia is apparently on the site of the original French village.

⁶⁷ This letter of Bergier's is reproduced in Fortier's article cited above. Cf. note 49.

⁶⁸ Bergier à M. Tremblay, July 3, 1703.

⁶⁹ These details are from Shea, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

⁷⁰ De Montigny à ———, Jan. 2, 1699.

⁷¹ St. Cosme à Monseigneur [St. Vallier?], March, 1700.

⁷² Bergier à ———, April 16, 1703.

⁷³ *Jesuit Relations*, 66:137. Pontchartrain, Minister of Marine, made a personal appeal, June 17, 1703, to Bishop St. Vallier for a division of the Lower Louisiana mission-field between the Seminary priests and the Jesuits. Margry, 4:634.

⁷⁴ *Id.*, 66:132.

⁷⁵ *Id.*, 66:257.

⁷⁶ *Id.*, 66:261. An old breviary in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, gives the date November 9, 1707, for Father Bergier's death. The Frenchman who attended Mr. Bergier on his deathbed was Michael Bisailon, who had come down from Canada with Father Gravier. He accompanied de Montigny's party from the Illinois to the Arkansas. He later brought "a hundred cabins under the obedience of the King" at Mr. Bergier's mission at Kaos, which gave him great pleasure. He remained with Mr. Bergier to render him and all the Indians every sort of service, assisted at Mr. Bergier's death and placed his effects in the hands of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers." Taschereau, *op. cit.*, note 6.

The exact location of Mr. St. Cosme's chapel, the original church of the Holy Family, (Father Pinet's Indian chapel probably having some other name), cannot be determined. When D'Artaiguette visited Cahokia in 1723 he found Mr. Mercier's church to be in the French settlement, the Indian village being an eighth of a league to the north. In 1735 Mr. Mercier was soliciting contributions from Canada for the new church "in the Indian village," asking among other things for "a little banner on which should be painted the Holy Family, patron of the mission." It does not seem likely that there were two Cahokia churches at this time, one for the Indians and one for the French. Though Mr. Mercier locates the new church in the "Indian village," he very probably uses the term as a general designation for Cahokia, as embracing both Indian village and French settlement. (As a matter of fact a Cahokia census of Mercier's time credits the mission with only one church. *Recensements*, 1706-1731, Library of Louisiana State Historical Society, New Orleans). However, cf. *American Public Lands*, 2:160: "On the river L'Abbé above Cahokia about twelve miles, near where the French church stood, etc." Father St. Pierre's church of 1799 or earlier is still standing, probably on the very site of St. Cosme's and Bergier's chapel. An iron cross, said to have come from the original Cahokia Church, has been planted immediately in front of the Chicago Marquette Memorial Cross at the junction of Damen Avenue and the Chicago River. However, the Cahokia pastor questioned the authenticity of the relic at the time it was brought to light, declaring it to be of comparatively recent origin. Cf. *Catholic Historical Researches*, 23:76. At least five Cahokia churches can be accounted for. (1) Mr. St. Cosme's chapel erected in March, 1699; (2) Father Pinet's erected in

1700; (3) Mr. Mercier's erected approximately in 1735; (4) Father St. Pierre's dating from 1799 or some years earlier; (5) the present church of stone built in 1887.

⁷⁷ *Jesuit Relations*, 66:268.

⁷⁸ *Memoire sur l' établissement de la Mission des Tamaroa* (Laval Mss.). Illinois Historical Survey.

⁷⁹ *Memoire*, etc., *ut supra*. From the very beginning the Seminary insisted on the Tamaroa post as a base of supplies for the missions which it hoped to establish along the Missouri. (Cf. Garraghan, *The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History*, in *Thought*, September, 1926). A Seminary official in Paris, commenting point by point on a letter of de Montigny's, July 17, 1700, written on board the *Merode*, writes: "We will willingly cede to the Jesuits the missions chosen by Father Du Ru (on the lower Mississippi) if the Tamaroa remain to us to facilitate the missions of the Missouri and the Akasas (Arkansas?), which we prefer to the others as being farthest removed from the French and consequently promising more fruit, although their expenses are far greater." Laval Mss., p. 30. The Quebec Seminary asked and obtained from the Company of the Indies in 1732 a grant of four leagues *en franc alleu* (in fee simple), a tract of land known subsequently as the Cahokia Commons. A well documented account by Joseph J. Thompson of the vicissitudes of this historic property may be read in the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, 6:102.

⁸⁰ Garraghan, *The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History*, in *Thought*, 1:193 (September, 1926).

⁸¹ *Jesuit Relations*, 69:223.

THE DEATH OF FATHER JACQUES MARQUETTE

The following account of the death of Father Marquette was published for the first time by Rochemonteix in the third volume of his *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII^e Siecle*. The original, which is in Latin, is by some unknown hand though there are indications that the author was Father Cholenec, who obtained his information from the voyagers who were with Marquette in his last moments. The English version here set before the readers of the REVIEW is due to Mr. Leonard J. Fenel, S. J., of St. Louis University. (Editor)

Father Jacques Marquette was born at Laon in Picardy, a province in the part of France which borders on Belgium. After he had spent several years in the Society, he was sent to Canada, where in a short time, by stupendous labors for the Christian religion and by the practice of all the virtues proper to his high calling, he won for himself the name of Apostle of the Illinois. He proposed to himself as a model the Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, whose character and zeal for the propagation of the faith he strove to reproduce in himself. To this end, in imitation of his exemplar, he had mastered several languages, especially that of the Algonquins, of the Hurons, and of the Illinois. Nor was he satisfied with the enormous task which he had undertaken, of civilizing the upper Algonquins, known as the Ottawas. He made expeditions into the remotest parts of this region to a distance of eight hundred leagues, in order to preach the mysteries of our faith and make known the God-Man to those races who had never heard of Him before.

But never was Marquette more like to Xavier than in death. He envied the death of the great Apostle who breathed forth his soul in a little hut abandoned by all the world; and he daily begged of God the same end for himself. To obtain this he had recourse to the merits of Christ and the favor with God of the most pure Virgin, whom he venerated with special devotion. The event showed that his prayers were not in vain. For it was in a tent hastily thrown up that he also, deprived of all human aid, met his death on the shore of the Lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan], in the midst of the toils of a laborious mission.

The previous year he had undertaken a very great journey to the Gulf of Mexico. Of the numerous tribes he encountered in the course of this journey, and whom he instructed in the mysteries of our

faith, none seemed more fit to receive his instructions than the Illinois. They are a tribe of a gentle and docile disposition, and even very humane, considering that they are savages. For this reason they are called the Illinois, which word in their own native tongue means "humane"; as if they alone were human, and all the rest but wild barbarians. Besides, he had instructed some of them in the essentials of the Christian faith on a former occasion, when he was staying among some savages who dwell on the extreme shore of Lake Superior or Tracy, where the banks come quite close together and converge to form a bay, which was named after the Holy Ghost. This was a frequent rendezvous of the Illinois for the purpose of trade. When he arrived at their villages, he found them so eager to receive the mysteries of our faith that they would not let him go away except on the condition that after having rendered an account of his journey he should either return to them himself or at least have another sent to them to instruct them in the law of Christ. And he did not fail to fulfil his promise. As soon as he had somewhat recovered from the bloody flux with which he had been grievously afflicted the whole summer after such great labors, he obtained from the Superior of the Fathers among the Ottawas to be allowed to return to his beloved Illinois and plant among them the first foundations of our religion. And so he set out in the month of November with only two Frenchmen from the so-called bay of the fetid (thus the Frenchmen call the people who occupy this bay, not from the smell of their bodies, but from the salt water,—misconstruing the language of the savages, among whom whatever is pungent or emits either an agreeable or fetid odor goes by the same name). During the month they spent in navigating the Lake of the Illinois he enjoyed moderately good health. But as soon as snow began to fall, he was again seized with the bloody flux and forced to stop on the bank of the river which flows out of that lake towards the land of the Illinois. Here, in a cabin which they built from the bark of trees, he spent the whole winter. His strength was so shattered by the daily increasing malady that he had no doubt that God had heard his prayer. To his companions at any rate he declared that he would die of this malady, on this very journey. To prepare himself the better for death he began the winter with the spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius, which he performed with sentiments of great devotion and an abundance of divine consolation. The remaining time he devoted entirely either to pious intercourse with God and His saints, or to the fostering of piety in his companions, to whom he administered twice a week the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist. His health had already been despaired of; still his solicitude for his beloved Illinois prompted him to ask his comrades to join him in prayer that God should not call him out of this world before he had brought the name of Christ to that region. A novena of prayer in honor of the Immaculate Con-

ception of the Blessed Virgin was begun for this intention. And it was not in vain. Immediately, beyond all expectation, the violence of strength was broken from his recent and protracted illness; but the disease left him, and as soon as the river was open, he resumed the journey, on the 29th of March, 1675. The season was severe, and his Charity of Christ urged him on. After eleven days on the water he reached their village, to his own delight no less than that of the savages, who received him as a man sent from heaven, or as their own father. Thinking that he should take advantage of this fervor of the savages, he at once, and for several successive days, called together the chiefs and elders, laid before them the reason of his coming, and then visited each dwelling, preaching Christ everywhere. The whole village flocked to him in crowds every day. As the narrow limits of the cabins could not hold the crowds of savages that flocked together eager to see and hear him, he decided to hold an assembly of the entire tribe outside the village.

An extensive meadow near the village was selected for this purpose. Hither the savages gathered at once from all the dwellings. The place was decorated according to the custom of the tribe with the most precious ornaments, as rushmats and bear-skins, with which they paved the ground. Then from poles and lines gorgeously hung with Chinese silks the Father suspended four images of the Blessed Virgin, so that they could easily be seen from all directions.

There were present at the council five hundred chiefs and elders, who sat in a circle around the Father. All the youth stood around, to the number of about one thousand five hundred men, besides a great crowd of women and children; for there were easily five or six hundred families in the village. So the Father began with ten gifts, according to the custom of the tribe, to explain to the savages who were waiting in suspense, the reason why he had undertaken the journey, and to unfold before them the principal mysteries of our faith. Thus he preached Christ crucified as it were before the public assembly of the whole tribe, on the eve of that momentous day on which Christ once gave His life on the cross in the midst of the most cruel torments in order to establish man's freedom. Surprisingly enough, he was so fluent in the Illinois tongue that he had no need of an interpreter, unless perhaps for the purpose of being heard by the more distant. Thereupon he offered the heavenly Victim to the Father for the salvation of the whole tribe, while the savages, struck with a kind of holy awe, marveled at the novelty of so great an act. During the sacrifice he was overwhelmed with such an abundance of divine consolation that the fervor of his melting heart appeared in his eyes and whole countenance.

On the third day, the day on which is commemorated the Resurrection of Christ, he again celebrated the sacred mysteries amid the same splendor before the same crowd of savages.

Consequently such a high opinion of God's law took possession of their minds that all were already thinking of embracing it. But the Father's superior and the violence of his daily increasing malady were calling him elsewhere. When the savages learned of this, they all earnestly besought him not to leave them alone, but to return to them as soon as possible: or, if his health should not allow that, at least to send them another in his stead. It was a hard thing indeed to be torn away from his dear Illinois; but his Superior was summoning all the Fathers to Mackinaw. The day set for the departure was come. The savages, as a token of their regard, brought him gifts individually which the great lover of evangelical Poverty declined. But at least he permitted them to carry his baggage upon their shoulders as a token of their affection for their beloved father. So they accompanied him for about thirty leagues till they came to the place where the waters fall in a dashing torrent from an elevation, rendering it necessary to carry the baggage and even the canoe on one's shoulders to a lower point of the river, where the current is less violent. When the savages had rendered their Father this last assistance, they were finally obliged to part with him, not without great grief on either side. Still they found consolation in the hope that he would soon come back to them. But God had decreed otherwise. Scarcely had he reached the lake of the Illinois when his strength was so broken that he could not move his body, and had scarcely any use of his limbs. Still there remained a hundred leagues of the journey; for so extensive is the lake in length, and they had to follow the southern shore, which was altogether strange to them and hence hard to navigate, for they had come along the northern shore. And so his comrades were already giving up hope of being able to bring him alive to Mackinaw. But he consoled and encouraged them with loving words to continue the journey and suffer gladly for God whatever labor they had to undergo; and not to give up, for the divine assistance would be with them after his death. Throughout the illness he retained at all times his own personality and a wonderful peace of soul which relied on the will of God alone, and which he manifested in his words as well as in the cheerfulness of his whole countenance, so that one would imagine that he was already enjoying before his time the delights of heaven. For he was occupied with the sole desire of heaven. Thither he directed his prayers and all his thoughts, and for the journey thither he prepared himself with

all the strength of his soul. With his eyes fixed on the things of God, for whole days he held sweet converse now with Christ our Lord or His Blessed Mother, now with his angel guardian, and again with all the Saints of heaven. From time to time he was heard to break forth into such words as these: "*Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit, etc.*" [I believe that my Redeemer liveth]; "*Maria Mater gratiae, Mater Dei memento mei,*" etc. [Mary Mother of grace, Mother of God, remember me]. He had read to him every day some pious book; and in his last days he requested that a meditation on death, which he carried always with him, should be added to this. In reciting his priestly office he was so exact that not even on the last day of his life, although not only his strength but also his eyesight was entirely weakened, could he be induced to omit any part of it. On the morning before his death he joyously informed his companions that on the following day he must depart. Accordingly he proceeded to make all preparations more painstakingly. Throughout that and the following day he instructed them how they should conduct his funeral; what sort of a place they should choose for his grave; how they should arrange his feet, hands, and face; and how moreover he wished a cross erected over his grave. One would have imagined that he was preparing the funeral of another, so completely did he retain his self-possession throughout. Even three hours before his death he instructed them that as soon as he was dead, and also during the burial, according to the rites of the Church, they should ring a little bell, which he kept with his sacred utensils.

While he was giving these instructions, there came into view at some distance a hill which rose somewhat above its surroundings at the mouth of a certain river. When he caught sight of it, thinking it a fit burial-place for his body, he said that here indeed he should rest. His companions pleaded that a good deal of daylight still remained, and that they ought rather make use of the time to continue their journey. He did not oppose them; but scarcely had they passed the mouth of the river when suddenly a strong contrary wind arose and drove back their craft. Turning back, they entered the river, and directing their canoe to shore, they landed the invalid on the eminence, where they built a fire, hastily raised a hut from the bark of trees, and laid him down to rest.

When the sick man saw himself in that wilderness all alone—for his companions were occupied in bringing up the luggage from the boat—, and just like his exemplar Xavier in his want of all things, he could hardly restrain his joy. He thanked God for the great

blessing of having had all his prayers fulfilled; and he made repeated acts of all the virtues, which he had continually exercised throughout his illness.

Then, turning to his companions who were absorbed in violent grief, after a few words of consolation he stirred them up as much as he could to every Christian duty and virtue, and to the hope that they would be accompanied by the assistance of God, for the promotion of whose glory they had come to those distant regions. He expressed his gratitude to them for having rendered him such faithful assistance with such sincere tokens of charity, and said he would be mindful of them in heaven, begging their pardon for any trouble or offense he might have given them, and asking them to beg pardon for him of all his associates dwelling among the Ottawas. Finally he bade them confess their sins and purified them with the Sacrament of Penance. He himself, as a priest was not accessible, handed over to them in writing the faults he had committed since his last confession to be taken to the Father Superior of his associates among the Ottawas, that he might by his prayers to God obtain their pardon. Then, as he saw that his companions were worn out by the labor of a several days' journey, and being naturally inclined to compassion, he wanted them to take a rest meanwhile, for his hour had not yet come, and said he would arouse them when it was at hand. This he did two or three hours later, when the final death-struggle was already at hand.

They came and cast themselves at his feet, with tears flowing from their eyes. He again embraced them and bade them be of good heart. Then he obtained the holy water which for that very purpose he had blessed eight days before with the solemn rite of the Church, and also his reliquary; and taking the crucifix which was suspended from his neck, he gave it to one of his companions, asking him to hold it before his eyes. Soon he felt his strength fail; and collecting his powers as much as he could, he joined his hands, and with his eyes fixed on the image of Christ, he professed with a fervent and distinct voice that he died a Christian, a son of the Holy Roman Church. Then he thanked God that he died in the Society of Jesus, engaged in the task of spreading the Gospel of Christ; and especially that he died as he had always desired in a hut, devoid of all human help. Then he was silent, and the remainder of the time he spent silently in pious converse with God and the Saints. Still from time to time he broke out into these words, "*Sustinuit anima mea in verbo ejus*" [My soul has relied on His word]; and, "*Mater*

Dei, memento mei'' [Mother of God, be mindful of me]. He had asked his comrades to call upon the holy names of Jesus and Mary for him in his last agony, if indeed he himself should fail to do so. Accordingly when one of them did so, the sick man at once invoked Jesus and Mary several times with his dying words. Then suddenly, as if the sight of some heavenly being were before him, he slightly raised his eyes from the image of Christ on which he had held them fixed, as one overwhelmed with a strange joy, or as one in an ecstasy. And he did not cease to contemplate this vision with a feeling of great joy beaming from his eyes, until with a bright and cheerful countenance, without any of the usual shrinking in face or body, he calmly breathed forth his soul on the 18th of May, A.D. 1675, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, having spent twenty-one years in the Society, twelve of them in France, and nine in Canada.

When his comrades had shed many devoted tears of love over the body of their beloved father, they conducted the funeral to the sound of the bell, with the ceremonies he had prescribed, with deep sentiments of grief and filial affection. It was not long after that they experienced the power of his intercession with God. For having erected over the tomb a huge cross to mark the place of his sacred remains, they were preparing to set out on their journey, when one of them, who partly from sorrow and partly from severe pain in his breast had for several days scarcely been able to take food or draw breath, approached the tomb of the good Father full of hope; for the Father had promised that on his coming to heaven he would help him by his prayers to the Blessed Virgin. So kneeling on the ground and pronouncing a short prayer, he took some earth from the tomb. O wonderful prodigy! Hardly had he applied it reverently to his breast, full of confidence, when suddenly all the pain vanished from his heart and the grief from his soul; and with a new joy which now remained with him during the entire voyage, he embarked in the canoe with his companion. Here we should add many things concerning the virtues of so great a man, if we were to write an account of his life. He had blended in his character all the virtues which were fitting a son of the Society of Jesus and a follower of Xavier and an apostle. Inflamed with an ardent zeal for promoting the glory of God, he traversed the remotest parts of this land, and instructed in the law of Christ those nations which up to that time had been unknown to us. To this he added a wonderful agreeableness of character, by which he won the affections of all. He made himself all things to all men; with the French he was a Frenchman, a Huron with the Hurons, an Algonquin with the Algonquins, that he might

win all for Christ. What shall I say of that indomitable courage of his, which prompted him to undertake such a journey when he had scarcely recovered from a protracted illness which entirely shattered his strength! What shall I say of his angelic chastity of mind and body; what of his candor of soul which prompted him to lay open all his innermost sentiments not only to those whom he venerated in the place of Christ, but also to others, so that to know him was to love him! All these virtues were nourished by his ardent spirit of prayer by which his mind, always fixed on heavenly things, enjoyed a sweet familiarity with God.

But the most prominent of his virtues was his tender love for the Holy Mother of God. Though he held all her mysteries in great veneration, he was drawn with particular affection to her Immaculate Conception, so that he could never talk about it either in public or in private without great delight on the part of the listeners. The name of the Immaculate Virgin, as he was wont to call her, he used everywhere, in his letters as well as in familiar conversation. From his early youth he daily offered to her as a tribute of his service the approved prayers commonly known as the Office of the Immaculate Conception; and he encouraged all others to the same practice. What is more surprising, even in boyhood, from the age of nine, he fasted every Saturday in honor of the Virgin conceived without sin. He never failed either to say the mass of the Immaculate Conception on those days on which the regulations of the Church permitted it, or at least to recite the prayer of the Immaculate Conception. A few days before his death he composed a chaplet on this mystery, which thereafter he offered to his Queen daily together with his companions. The chaplet is recited as follows. After the Credo, the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation, the following prayer is said four times: "Hail Daughter of God the Father, hail Mother of God the Son, hail Spouse of the Holy Ghost, hail Temple of the Undivided Trinity; by thy sacred Virginity and Immaculate Conception, most pure Virgin, purify my heart and my flesh, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." Then is added once the "Glory be the Father," etc., and the entire is repeated three times. Finally, as a perpetual memorial of his devotion, he named the mission of the Illinois after the Immaculate Conception, in order that they whom he held dearest on earth might be under the care and protection of

her from whom he saw innumerable benefits flowing daily upon himself and the whole human race.

Nor did the holy Mother fail her devoted client. But in order not to relate innumerable instances which it would be tedious to recount here, since we are now concerned only with his death, he died as he had always begged of her, in a hut and on a Saturday, a day which the Church has devoted to the worship of the Mother of God. His comrades have no doubt that she appeared to him, when a few moments before his death, invoking the names of Jesus and Mary as related above, he suddenly raised his eyes a little above the image of Christ and seemed to see this vision before him, with an expression which manifested the ardor and joy of his soul. They certainly were convinced at the time that he breathed forth his soul into the arms of his Blessed Mother.

There has been found among his writings a little note wherein he treats of the manner which God follows in directing those who devote their life to the spread of the Gospel of Christ. From this we may easily learn by what spirit he himself was ruled. He wrote thus to Rev. Father Dablon, the Superior of all the missionaries in Canada, before he had undertaken that momentous journey:

“Under the protection of the Immaculate Virgin I arrived here safe and sound, confident that I follow the call of God, at Whose bidding I am setting out for those nations who are located towards the south. My only object is to obey the will of God in all things. Accordingly I have no fears; nor am I terrified by the councils of so many savage tribes, or even by the Naduessi [Sioux]. (The latter is an extremely warlike nation among the savages, and up till now has molested all that region with slaughter. The tribe is sixty leagues from Lake Superior, and inhabits the bank of the river which flows out of the lake to the west.) One thing I know, that either God will demand satisfaction for my sins and my negligent life, or He will give me some share in His cross, which I have not yet borne since I arrived in this country. Perhaps God will finally grant me this at the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin, or at any rate He will send death, to put an end at least to my numerous sins. For this I am preparing myself as far as I can; for the rest, I commend myself entirely to God. I beg your Reverence again and again to remember me and obtain for me by your prayers to God that I may not prove ungrateful and forgetful of so many favors which God bestows upon me with bountiful hand.”

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

FIFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION HELD AT BUFFALO, N. Y., JULY 29 TO
AUGUST 1, 1906, RT. REV. CHARLES H. COLTON, D. D., BISHOP
OF BUFFALO, N. Y., SPONSOR

The Fifth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies convened in Buffalo, N. Y., July 29 to August 1, 1906. The opening services were held at St. Joseph's Cathedral with Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, D. D. of Milwaukee pontificating. Rt. Rev. Mgr. Nelson H. Baker, V. G. of Buffalo was Assistant Priest. In the sanctuary were: Bishop J. A. McFaul of Trenton, N. J., Bishop C. H. Colton of Buffalo, N. Y.; Bishop J. F. Regis Canevin of Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mgr. Wm. Byrne, V. G. of Boston, Mgr. Joseph Schrembs, V. G. of Grand Rapids, Mich. The sermon was delivered by Bishop J. F. Regis Canevin. It was an eloquent, thoughtful and complete explanation of what Catholic Federation should be.

A monster mass-meeting was held Sunday afternoon at which addresses were delivered by Mr. J. T. Smith, Bishop Colton and Mayor Adam. Bishop Colton said among other things; "All must admire the purpose and aims of Catholic Federation. A Federation of the Catholic societies of the country means much for the individual societies, while the power for good which they can exercise when united in one grand central organization is incalculable." Before the mass-meeting closed Archbishop Messmer spoke and explained, that partisan politics has no place in Federation.

On Monday, July 30, a solemn pontifical mass of Requiem was celebrated in St. Michael's Church, Buffalo, with Bishop Colton as celebrant, after which the convention session was opened. Roll call disclosed that 21 States, 9 Dioceses and 14 National Organizations were represented by special delegates.

PRACTICAL WORK ACCOMPLISHED

The report of the National Secretary disclosed that the Federation had been introduced into 42 States with over 400 county Federations; besides various Catholic Institutions and, and 15 National Organizations were enrolled. Of the practical work accomplished were Federation's activities and investigations in the Congo Free

State asking the administration at Washington not to interfere—that the cruelties supposed to have been committed by Belgium were untrue as testified to by the Belgian Consul, Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Rollens, Vicar Apostolic of the Congo, Prof. Staar and others. The matter of placing Catholic Filipino students in American Catholic institutions, at government expense, was vigorously pursued and as a result Father Vattman, the army chaplain, was appointed by the government to look after the welfare of the Filipino students sojourning in the U. S. A.

The Federation's stand on the divorce evil has met with favorable comment, and at a conference called for at Washington, D. C., at which eminent lawyers and judges took part for the purposes of studying the evil and to find some measure to curb it, Hon. Walter George Smith of Philadelphia, the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Federation, was selected to be the National Chairman of this important investigation commission. Federation activities in the various sections of the country disclosed: Crusades against immoral posters, theatricals and literature; introduction of Catholic books in public libraries; defeat of free text book bills in several States.

Important communications were read from Mr. M. Ersberger, Member of the Reichstag of Germany and of the German Centre; from Count Mendolga Albani of Bergamo, Italy, an officer of the Popolare Azione of Italy; from Bishop Libert H. Borynaems and Mr. Creedon of Honolulu of the Hawaiian Federation; from Bishop Jose De Camargo Barbos of Sao Paulo, Brazil, South America, and from Rev. M. C. Malone of Australia. The most valued communication came from His Holiness Pope Pius X, during the reading of which delegates arose and stood in reverence.

LETTER FROM POPE PIUS X ENDORSING FEDERATION

To the President of the Federated Societies of America:

That in union there is strength is evident from the letter you have sent us explaining the manner in which the Federation of Catholic Societies, over which you preside, has been inaugurated, and the extent to which the various associations of which it is composed have thus far done for all in their power to carry out the purpose for which the Federation has been instituted; namely, to extend a helping hand to the clergy in safeguarding Catholic interests; to strive for the Christian education of youth which is the hope of the Church; to further peace and morality in families; to expound Catholic truth in books and periodicals; to combat errors; to foster established works

of Charity and found new ones; finally, to endeavor to renovate public and private life in conformity with the teachings of Jesus Christ.

How much joy this gave to the Sovereign Pontiff can be more easily imagined than described. For you are aware that he has Federations of this kind very much at heart because of the abundant blessings that accrue from them to civil society. Rejoicing therefore at the fruit which you have already gathered, he sees the hope and the promise of still more in the future, and this hope is increased because of the Fifth Congress which you announce is about to be convened in Buffalo, N. Y., at which such a distinguished assemblage of prelates will assist. Meantime the Holy Father expresses the wish that your labors and those of the Federation which has been begun with the prudence worthy of the highest praise may be crowned with the blessing and assistance of God, and as a pledge of his benevolence, he, with all his heart, imparts to you and to each of the Associated societies his Apostolic Benediction.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my own consideration in your regard, and to remain,

Yours most devotedly,

R. CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL.

A great applause greeted the above letter after the National Secretary had read it, and the convention voted that Archbishop Messmer, Bishops McFaul, Colton and Canevin send a cablegram of thanks to the Holy Father and at the same time congratulate him on the third anniversary of his pontificate.

MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The afternoon session was presided over by Vice President John B. Oelkers. Much time was given over to the discussion of the "Deaf Mute Cause," "Catholic Indian Missions" and "Church Extension." The speaker for the Deaf Mute Cause was Rev. M. S. McCarthy, S. J.; he stated that there were 40,000 deaf mutes in the United States and that one-half belonged to the Catholic faith. He urged Federation and its allied societies to take an interest in and assist the Deaf Mute Cause.

Father F. Digmann, S. J., the veteran Indian missionary, explained the hardships of the Indian Mission Schools and of the sympathetic interest President Roosevelt had taken in the Indians at the

Bad River Reservation who had been forcibly removed from the Catholic school at Odanah against the wishes of their parents by one of the local governmental agents. The President acted in the interest of the parents.

CATHOLIC CHURCH EXTENSION ESTABLISHED IN CHICAGO

On the matter of Church Extension Rev. Francis Clement Kelly spoke as follows: "You will remember that at the meeting in Detroit, two years ago, Bishop Hennessey proposed that the matter of Church Extension be taken up, and that the Federation take an active interest in this matter. Toward that end we talked together, Bishop Hennessey and I, and he advised me to begin a series of articles on the subject in the *Ecclesiastical Review*. This was perhaps the foundation of the Church Extension Society. Our first meeting was called in Chicago for the purpose of pushing the work. The purpose, first, is to build little churches in pioneer districts, and also making an effort to reach the immigrants who come to our shores. There is one great question—that question is to save our people. Our Protestant friends have given us good example in the way they have made an effort to reach out and bring in the peoples of the earth. And I tell you they have been very successful. . . . We have now taken up the work of Church Extension and are making an effort to place churches where they are needed. Do you know that 75 per cent of the brain and brawn of the cities come from the country districts? Think it over a minute. You are living here now, but how many of you were raised in the country? The city is not independent of itself, but draws its independence from the country. The future citizens who will fill your pews will be from the pioneer districts. So we cannot ignore them and we must extend and save the faith among them. You might ask, 'have we done anything?' I will answer that we started this movement about nine months ago, and since that time have built twenty-five little churches. This by small donations. So we have done something.

Now, how can you assist us? You can distribute our circulars and you can discuss the question at your society meetings. It is not necessary that you go to the heathens to give help, for you have the poor right here at your door and it is up to you to give a helping hand and keep the faith in your own pioneer district."

FEDERATION'S RESOLUTION ON CHURCH EXTENSION

The following Resolution on Church Extension was adopted:

"WHEREAS, It is the first duty of Catholics to help save those who rightfully belong to the household of faith, and

WHEREAS, Many of our people have been lost to the faith because they have settled in churchless localities; and

WHEREAS, The immigrant problem is now acute throughout the United States, and the work of providing immigrants with churches and priests is one of primary importance; and

WHEREAS, There has been for years, a manifest need of an organization having for its purpose the support of priests, laboring in the poorer missions of the country; and

WHEREAS, There exists a widespread propaganda on the part of the non-Catholic missionary societies which have for object the perversion of our neglected Catholic brethren; be it therefore

Resolved, That the Federation heartily endorses the aims and purposes and methods of the Catholic Church Extension Society, and that it recommends that the allied societies and the members of the Federation support and advance the laudable work of said Catholic Church Extension Society by every means within their power."

At the Monday evening's Massmeeting addresses were delivered by Rev. Francis Clement Kelley (now Bishop of Oklahoma) on "A Dream of Equality," by Rev. F. Digmann, S. J., and Chief Eugene Little, who spoke on the "Indian Missions."

On Tuesday there were two business sessions and certain changes made in the Constitution affecting membership. At the Massmeeting held in the evening addresses were made by Mr. Nicholas Gonner of Dubuque, Iowa, on "Socialism" and by Hon. Justice D. J. Kenefick of the Supreme Court on "Divorce." Bishop Colton of Buffalo closed the meeting with a stirring address.

CLOSING SESSIONS

At Wednesday's sessions the Convention adopted Resolutions as follows: "Socialism," "Divorce," "Sanctification of the Lord's Day," "Parochial Schools," "Indian Question," "The Stage," "Immigration," "The Press," "Literature," "Church Extension," "Mission to Non-Catholics," "The Language Question in Federation," "The Deaf Mutes and Blind," "Places of Innocent Amusement for Catholic Youth," "Higher Education," "Catholic Educational Association," and "Sympathy with English Catholics."

The Treasurer's Report disclosed: Total receipts, with balance on hand, \$5,427.19; Expenditures \$3,374.25; Balance on hand \$1,060.44.

The following officers were elected: President, Edward Feeney of Brooklyn, N. Y.. Vice Presidents, A. G. Koelble, New York; L. M. McClear, Detroit, Mich.; G. W. Stenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Secretary, Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.; Treasurer, C. H. Schulte, Detroit, Mich.; Marshall, Edw. Harold, Seneca, Kansas; Color Bearer, Chief Horncloud, Pine Ridge, S. D.; Executive Board: Nicholas Gonner, Dubuque, Ia.; Walter Geo. Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.; Thomas H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill.; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Peter Wallrath, Evansville, Ind.; J. B. Oelkers, Newark, N. J.; Dr. F. Gaudin, New Orleans, La.; P. J. McNulty, N. Y.; Caspar Wolf, St. Louis, Mo.

The Convention adjourned with prayer by Archbishop Messmer.

SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES HELD AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND., JULY 14, 15, 16, 17, 1907. RT. REV. FRANCIS S. CHATARD, D. D., BISHOP OF INDIANAPOLIS, IND., SPONSOR

The Sixth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies was held in Indianapolis July 14-17, 1907. The convention was opened with pontifical mass at Sts. Peter and Paul's Cathedral with Rt. Rev. Francis Silas Chatard, D. D., as celebrant. His Excellency Most Rev. Diomedea Falconio, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, occupied a throne on the right of the sanctuary surrounded by Archbishop S. G. Messmer of Milwaukee, Wis.; Archbishop J. H. Blenk of New Orleans, La.; Bishop J. A. McFaul of Trenton, N. J.; Bishop D. O'Donoghue, Auxiliary Bishop of Indianapolis, Ind.; Rt. Rev. Mgr. O'Connell of the Catholic University of Washington, D. C.; Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. Schrembs of Grand Rapids, Mich.; Very Rev. J. Chartrand (now Bishop of Indianapolis), and many priests.

The sermon was preached by Archbishop Blenk of New Orleans, La., which was highly complimentary to the spirit which animated the Federation and the work it was doing. "The Federation," he said, "is rooted in and has its strength in the faith that Jesus Christ was the Son of God and that His Holy Church was founded for the salvation of man. The Federation is a witness to Christ, giving testimony of Him, as the Church has done for the past nineteen hundred years."

MASSMEETING

At the Massmeeting Sunday evening addresses of welcome were made by Bishop Chartrand of Indianapolis and Mayor Bookwalter. The Mayor in his address took occasion to flay the bigots. He said among other things: "I am a non-believer, but no man can read the history of this American continent, or hear anything of the history of our Nation without being forced to an appreciation of what we owe as a continent to the Catholic Church. We read the stories of Father Marquette, Father Hennepin, La Salle, Joliet, and all those men who traveled through the wilderness and while history tells us that they were actuated by the laudable desire to plant the flag of France over an imperial dominion, still when we read between the lines we know that while that may have been one of the causes, still they bore aloft the cross of the Church, because while but two of them were ordained priests, all four of them had been educated for the priesthood and were members of the Catholic Church.

Today I received from some friend (?) a letter containing a most scurrilous attack on the Catholic Church. Thinking, that possibly this kind friend (?) might be in the audience tonight to learn just what effect that cowardly communication might have on me, I wish to say, as a non-believer, that I recognize the fact that the work of the Catholic Church in America today is second to that of no other religious organization. Know-nothingism has no place in free America"

The principal address of the evening was delivered by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. Schrembs, V. G., of Grand Rapids, Michigan (now Bishop of Cleveland, Ohio). His subject was "Christ and the Twentieth Century." It was a masterful oration concluding with these stirring words: "We are the children of that blessed Catholic Church which has never surrendered the faith and to which the longing eyes and weary hearts of the earnest believers of disintegrating Protestantism are turning. The same glorious shield of Christ's divinity once held up by the hands of the great Apostle St. Peter to the wandering gaze of a pagan world, is still shining with undiminished splendor in the hands of his successor, our glorious Pontiff Pope Pius X."

APOSTOLIC DELEGATE SPEAKS

His Excellency Most Rev. Diomedes Falconio, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, who was the honored guest of the convention, gave a most encouraging address, saying among other things: "Your Federation has always been for me an object of particular interest.

I have carefully followed its steps from the time of its formation up to the stage of its present development. I have praised your endeavors; I have admired your courage, and today I am happy to be present here, in order to give by my presence a more substantial proof of the interest I take in this important Catholic movement."

BUSINESS SESSIONS

The first business session took place Monday morning, July 15. National President Edward Feeney and National Secretary Anthony Matre made their reports. These reports disclosed that Federation had now been introduced into 43 States and Territories besides Porto Rico, Hawaii and Philippine Islands. Fourteen National Societies and upward of 125 parishes were enrolled. Among the practical work accomplished since the last convention were: Mr. Walter George Smith's (Chairman of Federation Executive Board) efforts in behalf of uniformity in divorce legislation; Action on the part of the Department of Agriculture at Washington with regard to Sunday labor; Action on the part of the Bill Poster's Association regarding posters of an indecent nature; Action against a national weekly for caricaturing our Holy Father; Protest against the circulation in this country of *L'Asino*, a vile publication published in Italy.

Federation's Resolutions adopted at the previous national convention found hearty endorsements by the secular press of the country, especially Federation's resolution on "Divorce" and "Socialism." Papers commenting favorably were the *New York Times*, *Buffalo Enquirer*, *Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier* and *Buffalo Courier*. A personal endorsement came from President Roosevelt as follows:

"My dear Mr. Matre:—May I, through you, extend to the members of the American Federation of Catholic Societies my warm acknowledgment for the copy of the Resolutions, with their kindly allusion to me. Some of the matter you touch upon in those Resolutions are so important that it would be a particular pleasure to me if I could have the opportunity of seeing you on some occasion when you are in Washington to go over them with you.

"Sincerely yours,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Oyster Bay, N. Y., August 25, 1906.

Federation's activities in behalf of the Congo Free State, affecting Catholic interests there, were also reported and a communication from Hon. James Gustavus Whiteley, Consul of the Belgium Congo

Free State, was read which concluded as follows: "I wish to thank you and the Federation for the energy and promptitude with which you have acted in the Congo matter. I have received copies of the letters which you sent to Washington, and I need hardly add that they cover the ground exactly and completely. The effect at Washington seems to have been good and it looks as if the U. S. Senators will not care to meddle with the matter. I need hardly tell you how deeply I appreciate the interest and support of the Federation.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY,
Consul General.

The National Secretary's Report further disclosed important communications received during the year from Cardinal Richard of Paris on the spoliation of the Church in France; from Archbishop Harty of the Philippines, who said, that "in this distant land it was a comfort to know that we have at our back the sympathy of the Federation." It was also announced that Archbishop J. G. Messmer, one of the leaders of Federation, had been appointed assistant to the throne of His Holiness of Pius X.

During the afternoon session important addresses were delivered by Rev. Charles Warren Currier on "Catholic Indian Missions"; by Archbishop Blenk and Bishop McFaul. The latter told of his visit to Pipe Piu X and how the Holy Father became intensely interested when he explained to him the activities of Federation.

At Tuesday's sessions an "Associate Membership Plan" was inaugurated making it possible for individuals, not affiliated with societies, to join Federation on the plan of the Volksoerem of Germany. Addresses explanatory of this plan were made by Rev. V. Gettleman, S. J.; Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. Schrembs; Most Rev. J. G. Messmer, and Bishop McFaul.

Bishop Horstman of Cleveland, Ohio, spoke on Federation's part in politics and said among other things: "Federation has nothing whatever to do with partisan politics Thank God for that! So far as I know the Catholic Church has never interfered with politics. The public men of Ohio were always my closest friends and we always got along admirably. I once said to President McKinley: 'I can't vote for you because I am a Democrat; and I can't vote against you because you are my friend.' 'Oh, well,' he said, 'that's two votes anyway.' "

Very Rev. A. P. Doyle, of the Apostolic Missionary Union, spoke on the work of the Union and said that 1,008 missions were given to

non-Catholics and 6,178 converts were made. The movement was only ten years old and is growing.

At the Tuesday evening Massmeeting held in Tomlinson Hall, addresses were made by Rev. J. T. Roche, LL. D., of Nebraska, on "Making History"; by Rev. Henry Wenstrupp, S. J., on "Indian Missions." and by Chief Horneloud, a Sioux Indian.

THE RESOLUTIONS

Wednesday was given over to the discussion of the Resolutions, which after some debate were adopted as the sentiments of the Federation. The Resolutions touched upon the following: "Divorce," "Socialism," "Parochial Schools," "Christian Education," "Discouragement of Attendance at Non-Catholic Institutions," "Missions," "Catholic Press," "Dissemination of Catholic Books," "Immigration," "Fraternal Insurance," "Catholic Encyclopedia," "Aid Societies," "Child Labor." A special committee was named to study the question of the formation of a Catholic Young Men's Association and effecting a plan of co-operation between the Young Men's Institute, a national organization, and the Young Men's National Union. Members of this committee were: Edward Feeney, New York; Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh, Pa.; W. M. Fogarty, Indianapolis, Ind.; Thos. H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill.

The Report of the Finance Committee disclosed: Total Receipts, \$3,510.85; Total Disbursements \$2,371.84; Balance on hand \$1,139.01.

The following officers were elected: National President, E. Feeney, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Vice Presidents, J. B. Oelkers, Newark, N. J.; J. P. Flynn, Chicago, Ill.; G. W. Stenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Henry Wessling, Boston, Mass.; J. J. Hynes, Buffalo, N. Y.; Gilbert Harmon, Ohio; Secretary, Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.; Treasurer, C. H. Schulte, Detroit, Mich.; Marshall, C. H. Falk, Kansas; Color Bearer, Chief Horneloud, S. Dak. Executive Board: Nicholas Gonner, Iowa; Walter Geo. Smith, Penn.; Thos. H. Cannon, Ill.; F. W. Immekus, Penn.; P. Wallrath, Ind.; Dr. F. Gaudin, La.; C. Wolf, Mo.; F. B. Minahan, Wash.; D. Duffy, Penn. The officers were installed by Bishop James McFaul, who also offered the closing prayer of the Convention, which was to hold its next national convention in Boston, Mass.

ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.,

National Secretary.

Chicago, Ill.

GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast.—In the California Historical Society Quarterly is appearing a valuable documentary account entitled "Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast in the Sixteenth Century"; the most recent installment is chapter IV (in the March, 1928, number) on "The Voyage of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo," 1542-1543, accounts of which are not easily accessible. The account of this voyage gives the earliest description we have of the coast of Upper California and of its inhabitants. "Cabrillo sailed from Navidad June 27, 1542, and sailed up the coast to as far north as Point Arena, or one hundred miles above San Francisco. He came in contact with the Indians at San Diego, Santa Catalina Island, and on the Santa Barbara Channel, on which lived the Chumash tribe. It may be truthfully said that not much more is known about the Chumash than what can be read in the pages of this narrative and in the accounts of Sebastian Vizcaino's voyage. When the Franciscan missionaries came to California in 1769 they recognized that the intelligence and standard of living of these Indians were superior to those of others in California they had seen and very shortly began founding missions among them." The comment of the magazine writer that "the effect of these (missions) was extremely disastrous to the Indians, who died off with great rapidity"—*Credat Judaeus Appelles!* The manuscript containing the account of Cabrillo's voyage is reproduced in facsimile, from the original in the Archivo de Indias, followed by a translation. In appendices are printed two other accounts of the expedition, one from Herrera, the other from Lopez de Gomara; four sixteenth-century maps of the west coast are reproduced, one being from a portulan atlas in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Catholics in Central New York in the Forties.—Letters written by Father Adelbert Inama, of the Premonstratensian Order, from central New York in the middle of the last century, are appearing in installments in the Wisconsin Magazine of History, sections VII to IX, printed in the March, 1928, issue, are dated between February 19, 1844, and December 12, 1845. Weather had no terrors for those pioneer Catholics. "One day for which I had announced Sunday-school and confessions in the afternoon a terrific snow-storm commenced. I debated some time whether to go to church or not, as I doubted that there would be anyone there.

Finally I went, however, battling my way with difficulty through the snow for half a mile and, to my shame, found practically every child there, and confessions lasted into the night." In May, 1844, two Catholic churches in Philadelphia, St. Michael's and St. Augustine's, both Irish, a Catholic school for girls, and the rectory of St. Augustine's with a valuable library were burned by fanatics. Fr. Inama's comments on these events are: "As a close observer I saw the storm and the inevitable explosion coming. . . Catholicism had gained greatly thereby; its enemies are silenced and in disgrace. Every influential and honorable man has openly disavowed the bigoted fanatics (Nativists) and they are now permanently destroyed. . . . All anger was directed exclusively toward the Irish and the character of the Germans was even praised in comparison with them. The battle was originally purely political, directed against the foreign-born citizens. The two ruling parties, Whigs and Democrats, are of about equal strength. Thus the foreigners, being almost exclusively Democratic, nearly always threw the victory at the polls to the Democrats. As the Irish naturally, on account of their close organization, almost always determine the election of the Democrats, the Whigs decided to avenge themselves upon them. In order to electrify the masses against them, religion was injected into the political battle." These letters are full of interesting details for the historian. Father Inama signs himself: "Adelbert Inama, M.P., member of the reformed monastery of Canons of St. Norbert at Witten, Tyrol, at present (1844) missionary in America."

The Western Sea in the Jesuit Relations.—Passages occurring in the Jesuit Relations in which the existence, location and means of reaching the Pacific Ocean are mentioned have been gathered together by C. S. Kingston under the above title in the June issue of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*. In 1728 La Vérendrye, in charge of a fur-trading post at Nepigon north of Lake Superior, was shown by an Indian a birch bark map of the region west of Lake Superior. He and his four sons, all French-Canadians from Three Rivers, "began in 1731 a quest for the Western Sea which reached its climax on New Year's Day in 1743, when the sons became the first Frenchmen who ever saw the Rockies." (See *Pageant of America*, I, 325; also I, 315, map of their route). The background of geographical knowledge that preceded La Vérendrye's successful expedition was supplied largely by the reports of the missionaries searching for new souls to save, and at the same time furthering exploration by gathering accounts of

these unexplored regions from their Indian converts. According to the Jesuit Father Bobe (1718 or 1720) "the Western Sea was two hundred leagues west of the source of the Mississippi and he suggested no less than six routes that might be followed to reach it." The best, he thought, was "by way of Rainy Lake," in the Lake Superior region, "to a great river flowing west to the ocean." Fr. Charlevoix tried to induce the Council of the Marine in France to send an exploring party either up the Missouri River, or overland through the Sioux country by establishing missions and trading posts. "Some fifty years before the time of the memoir of Father Charlevoix numerous accounts are found in the reports of the Jesuits regarding the geographical problems of the continent including references to the great river that gave access to the ocean on the west. The Jesuits bore the most distinguished part," Mr. Kingston writes, "among the religious orders that carried on missionary work among the Indians. They were keen observers, well educated, and intensely devoted to the cause of spreading the gospel among the Indians. . . . Geographical interest and religious zeal went hand in hand." The earlier Jesuit Relations contain vague allusions to vast expanses of the country stretching westward to the China Sea; but the width of the continent was generally much underestimated. In the Relation of 1659-60 we find reference to three contiguous seas that lie westward from the western end of Lake Superior: one north, one west, and one south. Hudson Bay was supposed to communicate with the northern sea and thus to afford a "northwest passage" to Japan and China—an idea which persisted until 1768, as shown in the Jeffereys map. Another possibility of reaching the western sea was by way of some river flowing to the southwest; and in the Relation of 1661-62 mention is made of a "beautiful river which serves to carry the people down to the great lake. . ." meaning either the bay of St. Esprit in the Gulf of Mexico, or the coast of Florida, or else the Vermilion Sea (Gulf of California).

When the missions had advanced far enough to the west to come into contact with the Dacotah linguistic group, more stories of the western seas were told them by the Indians. The expedition of Joliet and Father Marquette in 1673 demonstrated that the Mississippi quite certainly flowed into the Gulf of Mexico and the Western Sea was to be sought by a different route. The Missouri was suggested by Fr. Dablon in his Relation of 1673-74 and by Father Marquette himself. An allusion to "a great lake far away toward the setting sun, the water whereof is very bad," that occurs in a letter from Father André

written in 1676, may well refer to Great Salt Lake. The systematic Relations of the Jesuits to their Superiors in Paris ceased with 1676. Fifty years later, when La Vérendrye was beginning his work of exploration, Father Nau, in a letter dated 1734, writes: Father Aulneau "may next spring set out with an expedition to discover the Western Sea." Later, in 1735, he writes that "Father Aulneau, as robust as he is courageous, has set out for the Western Sea. He will arrive there early next summer." But a tragic fate overcame him. "In June, 1736, he left Fort St. Charles with a party of 20 Frenchmen commanded by Jean-Baptiste de la Vérendrye, eldest son of the explorer. The entire party was surprised and massacred by the Sioux on an island in the Lake of the Woods. The body of Father Aulneau was found kneeling as in prayer with an arrow piercing his head."

Historical Material in the Ayer Library.—The Newberry Library, Chicago, a reference library containing over 450,000 volumes, largely specialized in the fields of history and literature, has just issued a pamphlet descriptive of historical source material in the Ayer Collection on the North American Indian, that is now a part of its resources. "No serious student can afford to overlook its resources," we read, "or fail to avail himself of them, who is concerned with the discovery, settlement and early history of America or with the customs, habits, manners, language or history of the native races of North America or of the Hawaiian or the Philippine Islands." The material dealing with the Spanish and French explorations, settlements, and administration of the South, Southwest and West, while those sections were under Spain or under France, is of special interest to Catholic students and writers. Archbishop Plancate of Mexico, when living in exile here in Chicago for five years, wrote his work on the pre-history of Mexico with the aid of Spanish and Latin sources found by him in the Ayer Library.

The pamphlet before us mentions as rare geographical items in this collection: thirteen portolan atlases and eleven portolan charts, all in manuscript, besides 450 other manuscript maps. The collection includes accounts of 180 overland journeys across the plains. Spanish America is covered not only by 1200 volumes, but by some 200,000 typewritten transcripts from Spanish and Mexican archives. The Indians of North America are treated from every point of view (3000 vols.) Translations of the Bible, prayer books and catechisms, many of them the work of Catholic missionaries, will be found among the 2,200 volumes on Indian languages. Graphic systems are represented

by two volumes and eight Aztec pictographic drawings on maguay paper, besides 125 volumes of reproductions of ancient codices and their decipherment.

The Spanish period of the Philippine Islands is well covered by source material. "The printed books (about 900 volumes) are supplemented by some 200 manuscripts and illustrated by nearly 8000 photographs. Eighteen different languages are represented. The pictorial section includes 48 oil paintings, 1232 red chalk drawings of Western Indians from life by Elbridge Ayer Burbank, many other drawings, and 3000 photographs of American Indians."

French Governors of Louisiana.—At a luncheon given the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on April 2, 1927, André Lafargue delivered an address on the "French Governors of Louisiana" which has appeared in the September issue of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review. As the address gives a brief survey of this period in Louisiana history, an abstract of it may be found interesting.

To Robert Cavellier de La Salle belongs the honor, the everlasting credit, of having discovered the mouth of the Mississippi River. . . To him, therefore, should have belonged the honor and the prestige of becoming the first governor of the new and magnificent province which he had acquired for his country through his foresight, daring and courage. But fate had decreed otherwise. . . His work would have gone for naught, in so far as France was concerned, had it not been brought to a successful and glorious completion by two men, two brothers, whose names are forever linked with those of Louisiana and New Orleans, Pierre Le Moyne Sieur d'Iberville, and Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville; one, the founder of the Province of Louisiana, the other, the founder of the "Crescent City." Both were born in Montreal. "Fearless, daring, intrepid and brave beyond compare," Iberville led the expedition from Brest, explored the Mississippi delta, and founded Biloxi, the first capital of Louisiana, and later founded its second capital, Mobile. He built a fort called 'La Balize' to guard the entrance to the Mississippi. He died in Havana in 1706 while in command of an expedition sent to harass British commerce. The life-work and accomplishments of Iberville had, says Lafargue, "tremendous influence in welding and shaping the destinies of Louisiana." His brother, Bienville, had the vision to see the importance of establishing a trading post on the river itself, where the products of the rich valley of the Mississippi could be handled. Against opposition he succeeded in obtaining, under the famous John

Law regime in France, the necessary power to begin in 1718 a clearing on the banks of the Mississippi where later arose the great city of New Orleans, named for Philippe duc d'Orleans, regent of France. The seat of government was moved to the new settlement four years later. Under Périer, the second governor, levees were erected along the banks of the Mississippi for eighteen miles above and below New Orleans. Bienville was twice recalled to France and his expeditions against the Natchez Indians, who had surprised and massacred the garrison of Fort Rosalie, were not very successful; yet he is called "unquestionably the greatest of the French governors of Louisiana." The Marquis de Vaudreuil, member of one of the oldest families of French aristocracy, who succeeded Bienville, tried to establish in New Orleans a "little court," after the style of Versailles. His administration was faced with economic and social problems of great difficulty, especially that concerned with the operation of the "Code Noir" and the large increase of the black population. He became governor-general of Canada in 1753 and was succeeded by Kerlérec, a man of stern mould, a soldier and able administrator. Under him began that friction between the government and the intendant,¹ which as time went on waxed in bitterness and intensity and became "a most unfortunate phase of French colonial life in Louisiana." Kerlérec was followed by D'Abbadie. In 1763 Louisiana was ceded to Spain; but the terms were kept secret for two years and meanwhile, when D'Abbadie died in 1765, Spain had not yet taken possession of Louisiana. Aubry, who succeeded him, was concerned in the trial and execution of La Frenière, Villère, and other colonists who resisted the cession of Louisiana. The last governor (for twenty days only) was Pierre Clement de Laussat.

Father Rodriguez Expedition, 1581-1582.—The Gallegos Relation of the expedition made by Father Austin Rodriguez and Captain Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado to New Mexico in 1581-1582, has appeared in English translation in the New Mexico Historical Review for July-October, 1927. The original is in the General Archives of the Indies at Seville; but a transcript of the manuscript is in the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library, Chicago. The translation is the work of George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. The expedition

¹ "The intendant," writes John Fiske (New France and New England, p. 102), "was an officer charged with enforcing a minute system of regulations in the colony, and incidentally of keeping a watch upon the governor's actions, according to the universal system of surveillance for which the old regime was so notable."

is of particular interest because it started that series of events which led directly to the permanent occupation of the Rio Grande country by the Spaniards. Coronado had visited the region in 1540 and Ibarra in 1565 "to investigate the rumors that had reached him in New Vizcaya of the Pueblo region"; but both expeditions were barren of permanent results. "At San Bartolomé was stationed a friar, Augustin Rodriguez, who was stirred with missionary zeal by the tales of a settled native society in the interior." Father Rodriguez secured the permission of the viceroy to investigate the reports of the new land. The party, consisting of three friars, Fathers Rodriguez, López, and Santa María, accompanied by nine soldiers and nineteen Indian servants, set out on June 5, 1581, from Santa Bárbara. The account of their travels should be read to be appreciated. Their route was up the west bank of the Rio Grande, reaching the Pueblo country on August 21, 1581. They visited fifty-seven pueblos in all. In September they left the Rio Grande and explored the Santa Fé, thence to the Galisteo valley. "Here Father Juan de Santa María determined to return to Mexico and did so, alone, over the protests of the soldiers." Three days later he met his death. The party returned to the Rio Grande which they then descended, exploring other valleys and visiting Zuñi. Having made a through exploration of the province, they returned to New Spain down the Rio Grande. "Thus had the Rodriguez expedition 'discovered' a vast region in which the natives had attained an advanced stage of culture." The vice-royalty set to work to effect its subjugation; but it was not until 1595 that Oñate of Zacatecas finally succeeded.

Governors of Spanish East and West Florida.—A convenient list of the eight governors of Spanish East Florida from 1784 to 1821, with exact dates of their administrations, and of the seventeen governors of Spanish West Florida between 1781 and 1821, is reproduced from an official copy, preserved in the State Department, in the October, 1927, issue of the Florida Historical Society Quarterly. The governors of East Florida for the period mentioned were: Zéspedes, Quesada, Morales, White, Kindelan, Estrada, Coppinger. The governors of West Florida were: O'Neill, White, Gelabert, Folch y Juan (two terms), St. Maxent (four terms), Collell, Zuniga (two terms), Maurigne (two terms), Soto, Masot, Callava.

Early Jesuits in Michigan.—The Michigan History Magazine for October, 1927, contains a readable sketch of early Jesuits who labored in Michigan or around the Great Lakes in the seventeenth cen-

tury, written by Catherine Frances Babbitt. "The cross was planted in the west on the soil of Michigan in 1641 when these missionaries first announced the Gospel to the Ojibways at Sault Ste. Marie, which name was given that place by Fathers Raymbault and Jogues." This was the oldest European settlement within the present limits of Michigan; it languished later but was re-established by Fathers Allouez, Dablon and Marquette. For three years these illustrious priests "were employed in evangelizing the vast regions that extended from Green Bay to the head of Lake Superior and inland to adjoining tribes in northern Michigan, southern Michigan, and northern Illinois." Raymbault, who died in 1642, was the first Jesuit to die in Canada. In 1659 Father Ménard, "his hair white with age and his face scarred with the wounds he had received at the hands of the savages, founded a mission near Keweenaw on Lake Superior and in the year 1661 he lost his life in an attempt to reach the Indians dwelling near the Noquet Islands in Green Bay, Wisconsin." He was followed in 1665 by Father Allouez, the "Francis Xavier of the American Missions," who preached in the country around the Great Lakes for thirty-two years, to twenty different tribes and baptized more than 10,000 souls. He passed the last years of his life among the Miamis, where he died in 1689, at what is now Niles, Michigan. The ground on which Notre Dame University stands was conveyed to its founder, Rev. Edwin Sorin, by Father Badin in 1841.

Some Local Catholic Indiana History.—Local church history is often difficult for the student to get. The Indiana History Bulletin for August, 1927, devoted to an "Archaeological and Historical Survey of Parke County," Indiana, has brief accounts of the small Catholic communities in the county. "There are four Catholic churches in Parke County, located some distance apart, and the membership of each society is small. Reverend C. E. Riebenthaler, who lives at Diamond, officiates at all of these churches." Catholic services at Rockville began at the home of Martin Ryan in 1854. "The first mass was read by a priest from Terre Haute. Reverend Highland was then appointed to the Rockville mission. About that time many workmen came to Rockville and vicinity to work on the railroad that was being constructed from Terre Haute to Rockville. A number of them settled here permanently and constituted the main body of the Catholic church. Services were held at the residence of Patrick Riordan and other members for about twelve years, until a small house was built on lot 4 of the west addition of Rockville under the leadership of

Father Minerod. Several priests officiated after Father Minerod's time, John Burk, John Fitzgerald, Maurice O'Sullivan, John and Richard Bowman. About twenty years after the first house was built the society moved to lot 74 of the original plat of Rockville." Short paragraphs are given upon the local congregations at Montezuma, Diamond and Mecca.

Green Bay in Early Days.—"Two major incentives entered into the discovery and exploration of the territory now known as Wisconsin: the enormous profits to be derived from the fur trade, and the desire to convert the savage tribes to Christianity." So writes W. A. Titus in a chapter of his "Historic Spots in Wisconsin," contributed to the September issue of the Wisconsin Magazine of History. "A few brave and zealous priests followed the trails of the *coureurs de bois* and strove nobly and unselfishly to counteract the debasing influence of these forest adventurers." The early explorers of Green Bay were led naturally into that bend of Lake Michigan on account of the habit of skirting the northern shores in their voyages from Canada into the Great Lake region of the west. The first was Jean Nicolet in 1634, a "young man of extraordinary talent for dealing with the savages. By residing among the tribes to the eastward for a number of years prior to this time, he had become thoroughly familiar with Indian languages and dialects and with savage customs." He was the man selected by Champlain, when governor of New France, to bring him reports of the newly found regions. But he kept no journal, and so meagre is the account of his explorations, written by a priest after the death of the explorer, that the extent of his journeyings has since been the subject of much controversy. Radisson and Grasseilliers came to Green Bay in 1658, but secretly, because their trip was unauthorized by the French authorities. In 1670 Father Claude Dablon, superior of the Jesuits, came to the mouth of the Fox River to settle differences that had arisen between the Indians and the French traders. But Father Claude Allouez had preceded him by a year and "in 1671 he established the mission of St. Francois Xavier at De Pere Rapids, six miles up the river. . . In 1673 Father Marquette and Louis Jolliet arrived at the Bay on their long journey to the upper Mississippi by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. On their return some months later, Marquette spent considerable time at the St. Francois Xavier mission." Hither was brought the "Griffon," the first sailing vessel to pass the straits and plow the waves of Lake Michigan, and thence she departed on her ill-fated voyage. Nicolas Perrot,

who came to Green Bay in 1667 and again in 1684 or 1685, may be regarded, according to M. M. Quaife, the learned secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, as "the first governor of Wisconsin" because as commandant of La Baye his jurisdiction extended over all dependencies to the westward. "Like Nicolet, Perrot was a wilderness diplomat, everywhere beloved by the Indian tribes with whom he came in contact. Other well-known explorers of the French period who visited the Bay were Duluth, Le Sueur, Lahontan and Charlevoix."

The Jesuits' Mill of Huronia.—The Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada (3d series, volume 20, for 1926) contain a brief description by James H. Coyne of an interesting relic of the Jesuit Huron Mission located in the region east of Georgian Bay, Lake Huron. In 1870 while settlers were clearing land in the district of Parry Sound in Georgian Bay, "a bronze bowl 7 1-4 inches in height, three-eighths of an inch thick, with an inside diameter of seven inches at the top and five inches at the bottom," was discovered by, and is now in the possession of William J. Beatty, ex-mayor of the town of Parry Sound. "Two grotesque heads like gargoyles stand out on opposite sides for handles. The fleur-de-lis appears in six places around the bowl. . . Immediately under the rim the date is moulded in capitals: *Faict l'an 1636.*" The Huron Mission was in charge of the Recollects from 1615 to 1628. Father Breboeuf, S. J., who closed the Recollect Mission in 1629, promised the Hurons to return, but was unable to do so and to reopen the work of the mission until 1634. "As Superior of the Huron Mission he remained in control for fifteen years except for brief periods of absence while engaged in founding other missions. His labours ended only with his death after frightful tortures at the hands of the Iroquois invaders in March, 1649." It is the surmise of Mr. Coyne that the mill or mortar was a gift of the French King or Queen—indicated by the fleur-de-lis—to Father Breboeuf for use in grinding wheat fine for flour with which to make the sacred wafers; that when the Hurons were forced to flee from their country by the terrible Iroquois, they tried to take their precious mill with them in a canoe, but were forced to abandon it—as it weighs 36 pounds—at the beginning of a four-mile portage on the shore of Trout Lake, where it was found. A cut and a map on which the probable route of its wanderings is traced form illustrations of the article.

Catholic Missions Among the Texas Indians.—The Southwestern Historical Quarterly is printing a translation from the Spanish

of early descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians and of the labors of Spanish missionaries among them. Three installments have appeared; the latest, in the July issue, containing two letters from Fray Francisco Hidalgo, one addressed November 20, 1710, to Fray Isidro Cassos and the other November 4, 1716, to the Viceroy. The first describes some religious beliefs. "The Indians say they have two children from God whom they call in their language *coneses*, "the little ones." . . . The Indians go at night to say their prayers. Their priest assumes the voices of the two children and asks for what he needs for their use. He threatens that if they do not do as they are told they will be punished suddenly with snake bites." The letter to the Viceroy has a political bearing. Father Hidalgo, who had labored as a missionary in Texas, was forced out in October, 1693. Later he worked strenuously to have the missions along the Rio Grande restored but met with no success until he learned that the French in Louisiana were pressing westward, and he at once wrote to the Viceroy about it. The Viceroy, alarmed, "issued orders for sending out soldiers and missionaries, and . . . the zealous Hidalgo was chosen as one of the workers." But owing to the unwillingness of the Indians to locate in pueblos the missionaries could instruct them only with difficulty. Father Hidalgo next proposed to try to convert the fierce Apaches, who were difficult for the Spaniards to control. But the task was deemed by his superiors too hazardous and he retired, old and broken in health, to San Juan Bautista where he died in 1726 at the age of seventy-seven. The letter to the Viceroy translated in the Quarterly supplies information about the Tejas Indians and their country. He points out, in a final warning against the French, that "it is also important to explore the mouth of the Rio del Misuri, where the settlements of the French and the Illinois Indians are located . . . and to place a barrier against them so that they may not go further up the river to discover the advantages of settling. Their communication is altogether by way of the rivers and if a barrier be placed near the Illinois Indians at Natchitoches and at Bahia del Espiritu Santo, the French will be encircled as they have encircled the English of New Carolina."

The Southwest Review, "a magazine of discussion edited by members of the English staff of Southern Methodist University," and published at Dallas, Texas, is beginning in its January, 1928, issue a series of articles on "Old Spanish Missions in Texas," written by Frances Scarborough. It is certainly gratifying to find the Methodists taking an interest in old Catholic missions, and so far as one may

judge by the first article of the series, which is excellently written, the author is familiar with the literature of her subject and is actuated by sincere purpose of writing history and not propaganda. The article deals with San Francisco de la Espada Mission among the Texas Indians. Father Massenet, a Spanish priest, member of an expedition sent out by the Viceroy of New Spain to find La Salle's French settlement of Espiritu Santo (on Matagorda Bay southwest of Galveston), was the first to visit the region in 1689, returning the next year to found the first of seven missions that he proposed to establish. The Spanish authorities were planning for colonization and the exclusion of other Europeans from the territory.

"Three days subsequent to the choice of the mission site, as the result of heroic effort, the church and military buildings were completed, and the soldiers immediately moved into them all those supplies which were to be left for the priests: twenty loads of flour, plows and plowshares, axes, spades and 'other little things' with which to begin their life in the wilderness. Twenty cows and two yoke oxen completed their equipment, while that of the soldiers of the garrison consisted of nine of the King's horses, some firelocks, a barrel of powder and some shot." These little details give us a definite idea of what supplies were used by the missionaries in opening up new missions among the Indians. "A week from the celebration feast of Corpus Christi, on the morning of the first of June, Mass was celebrated, the Te Deum sung and the village consecrated to the glory of St. Francis." Although begun so auspiciously the Mission subsequently suffered from sickness and lack of food; the Indians became restless, and the mission was abandoned in 1694. Later attempts by the Spaniards to found missions were equally unsuccessful. A second paper is promised by the author, to deal with the fortunes of another mission established on the site of the first twenty-eight years later (1722).

Spain and the Cherokee Indians in 1783-98.—A writer in the North Carolina Historical Review for July, A. P. Whitaker, has given the results of his personal researches in the Spanish archives at Seville and Madrid upon a topic of considerable intricacy—the relations of the Spanish governor of Louisiana and West Florida, Baron de Carondelet, with the Cherokee Indians. "With the close of the American Revolution, Spain returned to the Floridas," he writes, "and renewed its ancient struggle with the advancing frontier of its Anglo-American neighbors to the north and east. As had been the case in earlier times, one of the most important of the stakes was the

control of the Indian tribes who inhabited the region between the white settlements of Georgia and the Carolinas on one hand, and on the other, the Spanish posts at St. Augustine and on the Gulf." The efforts of the tricky Carondelet were centered, during the period between his appointment December 30, 1791, and the conclusion of the treaty of San Lorenzo October 27, 1795, upon endeavors to embroil the Cherokees and other Indian tribes in a war against the new American government, "in order to compel the United States to relinquish the territory ceded by the Cherokee in the treaty of the Holston concluded in 1791. Carondelet had "convinced himself that the United States was preparing to invade Louisiana and determined to strike the first blow. Since the troops at his disposal were hardly adequate even for the policing of Louisiana and West Florida, an offensive would be impossible without the aid of the Southern Indians." One of the regions which he wished to prevent the Americans from occupying was a section that in recent years has been the subject of negotiations of a commercial character, namely Muscle Shoals. He failed in these efforts to force a war because the Spanish government was in no mood or condition to have a war with the United States. One of the questions answered in the article before us is: "Whether Spanish officials were responsible for Indian attacks on the American frontier (1793-94). The answer, so far as the Cherokee are concerned, is that, although the Spanish court never authorized the incitement of the Cherokee against the United States, Carondelet was in a large measure responsible for the hostilities that took place during his administration."

First Benedictine Abbey in New England.—The adjective "first," when occurring in the pages of an historical magazine, suggests antiquity; in this case it does not have that connotation. The first monastery of the Benedictine Order to be elevated to the rank of an abbey within the confines of New England is St. Anselm's, at Manchester, N. H. Rev. Hubert J. Sheehan, in the January issue of the Granite Monthly, gives an account of the ceremonies on December 21, in which the governor of the state, his council, the mayor of Manchester, and many clergy, both secular and regular, gathered to do honor to the first abbot, Rt. Rev. Bertrand Dolan, O.S.B. "Unlike other religious orders, the various monasteries of the Benedictine Order are distinct from each other. Each monastery governs itself and conducts its activities under the direction of an abbot who is elected to that position by the members of his community. The office of abbot has many privileges attached to it, among which is the privilege of wearing the episcopal insignia." A portrait of the Abbot attired

in his episcopal vestments accompanies the article. The Benedictine Order is the oldest of the religious orders in the Catholic Church, dating from the sixth century. "The great abbeys and cathedrals built under its auspices were remarkable for their beauty. Among those still extant that owe their existence to the Benedictines are Westminster Abbey and the Cathedrals of York, Durham and Canterbury in England."

Letters of an Early Premonstratensian in New York State.—

The letters of the Reverend Adelbert Inama, O. Praem., written in the middle of the nineteenth century from Utica, N. Y., and neighboring cities, are appearing in the Wisconsin Magazine of History. The fourth installment (December, 1927), gives his impressions of Utica in July, 1843, when he first arrived to take charge of a turbulent parish there; also an account of a mission trip undertaken in connection with plans of Dr. Henni, vicar-general of the Bishop of Cincinnati, for founding a German Catholic Seminary; and his missionary labors in Syracuse, Salina and Manlius. Pastors' salaries were low. "The combined congregations of Syracuse and Salina," he writes, "alone have promised a fixed annual salary of 400 dollars (1,000 fl. R. W.) and the surrounding congregations will contribute in proportion, so that a priest there, together with incidentals, would always be sure of 1,500-1,800 fl., but of course it is understood that he would provide his own room and board." A German-Irish parish three miles from Constableville, Lewis County, is thus described: "Here, as almost everywhere in New York State and also outside, Raffener has gathered together the German colonists, formerly widely scattered and mixed with other sects,² urged them on

² The translator is probably responsible for this term, not the author.—WSM

and supported them financially in building a church. The landed proprietor of the region presented this church with fifty acres of land. It stands almost in the center of the county and holds 700 people. . . The nearest Catholic home is half a mile distant, the farthest eighteen or twenty miles. Most of the church members, therefore, come to service either by wagon or on horseback and it cannot be held before eleven o'clock. After services those who live farthest start for home, unless they intend to hear Mass and to take the sacrament on the following day, in which case they remain with the others for the afternoon catechetical instruction and vespers, and in the meantime sit around the church and eat the lunch which they have brought with

them." The priest must go on trips by railroad, thence "on a terrible country road in a miserable stage-coach. A weak heart or nerves could not stand the bumping and I myself was almost lame in the thighs the first few times. It is still worse when I have to make the trip in a farm wagon. The first time I was obliged to hold on to the driver continually for fear of any minute being thrown from the wagon."

WM. STETSON MERRILL.

The Newberry Library, Chicago.

NECROLOGY

GEORGE E. BRENNAN

Outstanding as a public citizen George E. Brennan's funeral on August 10 from Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church was the tribute of thousands of loving friends. The kindly character of the man had by his many good deeds won for him friends in every walk of life.

Born in Braidwood he rose by his own efforts to a position of prominence, beloved and admired by thousands.

Solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated by the Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph A. Casey, pastor, who also preached the funeral sermon.

REV. WILLIAM P. LYONS, S. J.

The Reverend William P. Lyons, S. J., founder of Loyola University Press, died August 20, at Alexian Brothers Hospital. His funeral took place from St. Ignatius Church with burial in All Saints Cemetery.

With the exception of two years teaching at St. Mary's College, Kansas, all of his active life had been spent in Chicago. This connection with St. Ignatius College and Loyola University for a quarter of a century made him one of the most important leaders in the Catholic educational field in the middle west. He was the founder of the Loyola University Press, which has proved of inestimable worth in the Catholic educational field.

CLAUD G. BURNHAM

One of the outstanding figures in Chicago's transportation life in the person of Claude G. Burnham, executive vice-president of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, passed away June 25th at his home, 536 Roslyn Road, Kenilworth, Ill. Mr. Burnham, who rose to a position of professional and civic prominence, was a convert to the Catholic faith.

His funeral took place at St. Francis Xavier Church, Wilmette, where Solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated by the pastor, the Rev. Bernard Brady, assisted by the Rev. F. J. Magner, the Rev. Patrick Griffin, deacon and sub-deacon, and the Rev. Patrick Gleeson as master of ceremonies. The Rev. Bernard Brady preached the sermon. Burial was in All Saints Cemetery, Desplaines.

Mr. Burnham was born in England forty-seven years ago, coming to the United States as a boy. He began his railroad career in 1895

with the Great Northern, entering the employ of the C., B. & Q. railroad in 1902. His wife, Mrs. Mary Gillis Burnham and three sons survive him.

REV. FRANCIS J. WALSH, C. M.

Hundreds of Chicagoans mourned the death of the Rev. Francis J. Walsh, C. M., widely known member of the Vincentian order, whose funeral was held from St. Vincent's Church, Saturday, July 7. Requiem High Mass was celebrated by the Rev. Marshall J. Le Sage, C. M., of Cape Girardeau, Mo.

Father Walsh was active in the establishment of the present St. Vincent's Church at Webster and Sheffield Avenues and one of the founders of St. Vincent's College, which later developed into De Paul University. In the establishment of the parish he was associated with the Rev. Edward N. Smith, C. M.

Born in Chicago in 1861, Father Walsh was ordained at St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, Mo. in 1895. Immediately after his ordination he was assigned to St. Vincent's Church, serving until 1900. Later assignments were St. Joseph's Church, New Orleans, St. Vincent's Church, St. Louis, and St. Vincent's College, Cape Girardeau, Mo.

REV. LEON WYRZYKOWSKI

Polish Catholics of Chicago were grieved over the passing of the Rev. Leon Wyrzykowski, pastor of St. Mary of Czestochowa Church since 1902, whose funeral was held on July 5.

Funeral services were held from St. Mary of Czestochowa and burial was made in Minneapolis, Minn., his home, where he was laid beside the remains of his mother and father.

Father Wyrzykowski was ordained in Baltimore in 1897, and in addition to St. Mary of Czestochowa parish he served the Polish parish of St. Mary's in Downer's Grove. Ill health compelled him to relinquish his pastorate and for the last three years he had been a patient at the Alexian Brothers Hospital.

REV. T. S. CONRON, S. J.

Hundreds of Catholic youth who came under the gentle and kindly guidance of the Rev. Thomas S. Conron, S. J., formerly principal of St. Ignatius High School, Chicago, grieved with others over his death July 19, at Oak Park Hospital after an illness of but two weeks. The Rev. William M. Magee, S. J., president of Marquette University, Milwaukee, presided at the office of the dead chanted by the clergy before the Requiem Mass in Holy Family Church, Chicago, July 21.

The Rt. Rev. E. F. Hoban, D. D., Bishop of Rockford, was present and gave the last absolution.

Rev. Father Conron for the last year had been principal of Marquette University high school, Milwaukee, and was re-appointed for the coming year. He was born in Chicago, was educated at St. Ignatius College, entering the Jesuit Seminary at Florissant, Mo., in 1908. He was ordained in 1922. Following his teaching period at John Carroll University, Cleveland, he was appointed principal of St. Ignatius high school, Chicago, a position he held until his appointment to Milwaukee last year.

MRS. MARGARET PARKER

Parishioners and friends of the Rev. George A. Parker, D. D., pastor of St. Felicitas Church, condoled with him in the death of his mother, Mrs. Margaret Parker, whose funeral was held August 6 from St. Ambrose Church, where Solemn High Mass was sung by her son. Fifty priests of Chicago were present in the sanctuary.

Mrs. Parker was born in Waterford, Ireland. She was beloved by scores of friends who admired her sterling qualities of mind and heart.

She was the wife of the late George Parker, mother of Father Parker, Dr. John Parker, Sister Mary Margaretta, Sister of Mercy; Mrs. P. J. McShane and Mrs. Francis Kelly.

DR. EUGENE CLANCY

Military significance was given to the funeral of the late Dr. Eugene G. Clancy, 4009 Wilcox Street, when scores of former service men gathered at St. Mel's Church August 4.

Dr. Clancy was a brother of the Rev. James J. Clancy, pastor of Immaculate Conception Church, Fulton, Ill. He was a member of Verdun post, American Legion, James Shields council, Knights of Columbus, and St. Charles Court, C. O. F.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Anna D. Clancy, his mother, Mrs. Mary Clancy, and five brothers and sisters.

EDWARD J. EVANS

The death of Edward J. Evans, international vice-president of the Electrical Workers' Union, was a loss to friends in the labor movement. Mr. Evans represented the American Federation of Labor in many matters throughout the United States.

The Rev. J. W. R. Maguire, C. S. V., president of St. Viator College, a staunch defender of the laboring man, paid a strong tribute

to Mr. Evans at his funeral held at Our Lady of Peace Church. Burial was in Holy Sepulchre cemetery.

Members of his family include his wife and three daughters.

MRS. ELIZABETH JANE DUNNE

Mrs. Elizabeth Jane Dunne, wife of former Governor of Illinois, Edward F. Dunne, passed away at the family residence, 737 Gordon Terrace, on Saturday at 5 P. M.

A daughter of a pioneer Chicagoan, Mrs. Dunne was married to Illinois' former Governor and former Mayor of Chicago, August 16, 1881, and throughout the career of her husband, she proved an ideal helpmate, assisting him through their early married life when he was a struggling young lawyer, as a confidante and adviser, and witnessing his rise in the high legal circles of the city, followed by his incumbency of the office of chief executive of the city of Chicago and governor of Illinois. As the first lady of Illinois, she won the admiration of all invited to the many social functions conducted by her during her husband's term as governor. Mrs. Dunne was the mother of thirteen children, nine of whom survive, Edward F. Dunne, Jr., of Morristown, N. J.; Richard, Mrs. Wm. J. Corboy, Mrs. A. G. Leonard, Maurice, Jerome, Geraldine, Jeanette and Eugene.

REV. E. T. MALLON, C. S. P.

The Rev. Edward T. Mallon, C. S. P., whose first assignment was as assistant at St. Mary's (Paulist) Church, Wabash Avenue and Ninth Street, Chicago, following his ordination at the Paulist novitiate, Washington, D. C., died in Philadelphia August 27. His funeral was held from St. Mary's Church, Chicago, where Solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated by the Very Rev. Joseph McSorley, superior general of the Paulist fathers.

Father Mallon was born in San Francisco, February 8, 1880, and was educated at St. Mary's College, Oakland, Cal., completing his studies for the priesthood at the Paulist novitiate, Washington, D. C.

In addition to his Chicago assignment he served indefatigably the parishes of St. Lawrence at Minneapolis and St. Mary's Church, San Francisco.

GEORGE W. McCABE

George W. McCabe, president of the Lake View State Bank at Clark Street and Belmont Avenue, passed away peacefully while asleep at his home, 1118 Albion Avenue, on February 29.

Born near Brimfield, Ill., March 1, 1863, Mr. McCabe was a charter member of Chatsworth Council, Knights of Columbus, and served as treasurer of that council for ten years. Coming to Chicago in 1910, he transferred his membership to DeSoto Council, one of the leading councils on the north side of the city, and continued his activities throughout his life. Through his advice and splendid financial leadership, acting as co-trustee, DeSoto Council purchased a most excellent site for a building, 125foot frontage on Belmont Avenue, adjacent to the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, for \$25,000, which today is valued at \$125,000.

MRS. MARY O'HARA YOUNG

Mrs. Mary O'Hara Young, for sixty years a resident of Chicago, died February 23, 1928, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. P. J. Bee, 399 Fullerton Parkway. She was 70 years old.

Mrs. Young was the mother of several well known Chicagoans and is survived by twenty-five grandchildren. Her children are: Mrs. Bee, wife of the vice president of Lawrence Stern & Co.; Mrs. Edward Gueroult, wife of the vice-president of the Straus Brothers Company; Charles J. Young, vice-president of S. W. Straus & Co.; Sergt. Patrick H. Young of the Police department, Policeman Louis C. Young, Mrs. Michael Loftus, and Mrs. Thomas King.

GERTRUDE A. KRAY.

Chicago, Ill.

Book Reviews

The John Askin Papers, Vol. I: 1747-1795, edited by Milo M. Quaife, Secretary-Editor The Burton Historical Collection. Detroit Library Commission, 1928, pp. 657.

This portly royal octavo volume is the first of a series to be known as the Burton Historical Records, the purview of which is to make accessible in printed form to student and general reader a part at least of the well-known collection of source-material on Northwest history gathered through long years of research by Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit and now installed in the Detroit Public Library. The value of this collection not only for Detroit local history but also for the general picturesque and colorful pioneer story of the entire Great Lakes region has long been known to the researcher; it is the merit of the serial publication now projected that it will bring to the notice of the general public the extent and character of the historical treasures assembled in one of the great archival depositories of the country.

The Askin Papers, consisting of the correspondence, records, and miscellaneous documentary pieces left behind by John Askin (1738-1815), a Detroit resident of Irish birth, is an outstanding feature of the Burton Historical Collection. The Askins were originally of Scotch stock, kinsmen, according to family tradition, of John Erskine, Earl of Mar, who headed the rising of 1715 in favor of the old Pretender. John Askin was for years a merchant engaged largely in the fur and Indian trade at Detroit and other points and the chief factor determining the publication of his papers in this initial volume of the Historical Records is the circumstance, in the words of the editor, Mr. Milo M. Quaife, "that John Askin's activities over a period of half a century in the Northwest were so manifold that his personal papers illustrate practically every aspect of the life of his times in the region of the upper lakes" (p. 4). In addition to the selections from the Askin letters the editor has reproduced three French documents, with English translation, illustrating primitive Detroit history and bearing the editorial captions, "A land grant," "A marriage dot," and "A sale of real estate."

Everybody knows the glamour and charm that the French occupation has thrown on the beginnings of certain of our middle western cities. Detroit is perhaps the most characteristic instance in point. Associations of fascinating interest cling to the Gallic family-names

that filled the records of Cadillac's eighteenth-century town when it was little more than a stockaded fort on the northern bank of "the Strait"; and these same names, represented here for generations, are today, as Mr. Quaife tells us, "of frequent occurrence in the daily press." John Askin married into a French Catholic family of Detroit, the Barthes; moreover, his relations in a business way with the French residents of Detroit were constant with the result that the names of many of them occur repeatedly in his correspondence. This gives the editor occasion to present in foot-notes a vast deal of valuable genealogical and other detail regarding the always interesting Campaus, Cicottes, Godfroys, Beaubiens, Chapotous, Tremblays, and other early French families of Detroit.

Illinois readers will be interested in "Hugh Heward's Journal from Detroit to the Illinois, 1790," found among the Askin papers and published for the first time in the volume under review (pp. 339-363). New light is thrown on early Chicago history on page 356, where the editor records details, presumably hitherto unpublished, regarding Jean Baptiste Point Sable, alleged first permanent settler on the site of Chicago. His house, which subsequently achieved local fame as the "Kinzie Mansion," stood on the north bank of the river at the foot of Rush Street. "In the spring of 1800," writes Mr. Quaife, "Sable sold his property at Chicago to Jean Lalime of St. Joseph for 6000 livres (about \$1,200). The original bill of sale with inventory of the property transferred, is still preserved in the Wayne County building at Detroit, and it discloses that Sable was a man of substance, with an extensive civilized establishment. The realty included a house 22 by 40 feet (the house, subsequently, of John Kinzie), a horsemill 24 by 36 feet, bakehouse, dairyhouse, poultryhouse, smokehouse, a stable 24 by 30 feet, and a barn 28 by 40. The livestock comprised 30 head of cattle "Full grown," 2 mules, 44 hens, 38 hogs, and 2 calves. Among the household goods were such items as a French walnut cabinet with four glass doors, a bureau, four tables, a couch, two mirrors, eleven copper kettles, etc."

The editorial work in this volume reaches a high degree of excellence and measures up fully to the rigorous present-day requirements of scientific method in the presentation and elucidation of historical documents. Few if any contemporary students of Western history in the pioneer period command a wider range of accurate and informing detail than Mr. Quaife; and the present work is additional evidence of his attainments in this regard. Only in one instance does the writer permit himself a word of dissent, and this in connection

additional surnames introduced by the prefix *dit* (p. 20). While some of these were apparently veritable nicknames, the bulk of them cannot probably be called such. To quote a recognized expert in French-Canadian family-names, Oscar Collet writes in his *General Index to the Archives in the Office of Recorder of Deeds in the County of St. Louis, Mo., St. Louis, 1876*: "A nickname is an opprobrious or sportive appellation; a alias, an assumed name. In the class of names to which I refer there are no aliases and not many nicknames. Besides, a by-name or an alias is universally personal to the individual, not common to his family or descendants."

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

St. Louis, Mo.

The Capture of Old Vincennes, edited with Introduction and Notes by Milo M. Quaife. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1927.

The original narratives of George Rogers Clark and his opponent, Governor Henry Hamilton, constitute an important contribution to the History of the United States and particularly the Illinois Country. The book herein reviewed contains the personal record of the chief contestants in the struggle for the supremacy of the Northwest territory, meticulously embellished and elucidated by copious notes of the author. This narrative account of the daring military exploits of Clark, which have given five states to the nation, would have been lost to posterity had he failed to respond to the very earnest solicitation of President Madison. An examination of the original report of the conquest of this vast inland empire is complete, authentic and modestly written. It has been unfortunate that hitherto the account was barely intelligible except to those painstaking historians who had the courage and tenacity of purpose to struggle through Clark's wretched spelling and slightly improved chirography and diction.

Milo M. Quaife, undertaking the somewhat difficult task to clarify and simplify Clark's account of his heroic deeds, has succeeded in making this fascinating original historical classic now available for the general reading public. A pleasant surprise is in store for the reader who compares the original with the improved rendition of Dr. Quaife. When the reader has finished this stirring account (and in most cases this is done in a single night's perusal) he can then appreciate the splendid service performed by the author in so rendering Clark's account in simple, grammatical English, without changing its meaning one iota, that it can be understood and enjoyed by the average American.

It might be apropos for the reviewer to say something of the book generally. It contains a scholarly introduction and the historical notes with which it abounds furnish ample proof of the author's historical erudition of the Illinois country. These footnotes do not detract from the interest of the book but make it all the more alluring. They cover a vast historical field, giving brief but full accounts of many interesting and important characters in the history and development of the Northwest territory.

The book is intended as a tribute to George Rogers Clark—perhaps somewhat belated but very appropriate at this time as we stand on the very threshold of the Sesqui-Centennial Anniversary of Clark's conquest of the Northwest, which will be fittingly observed on February 25, 1929, in "Old Vincennes."

What this famous little empire builder lacked in military training and technical knowledge, he more than made up in zeal and innate capacity to command. He surveyed the vast expanse of territory to the west of Virginia with an eager, if not intuitive prophetic vision. It would be preposterous for us to proclaim that he or anyone else dreamed, at that time, of the great, fertile and populous states which were enshrined potentially within this vast wilderness. No one, even from Marquette down, could have imagined that some day upon the storm tossed and deserted shores of one of the lonely lakes should rise what is destined to be the largest city in the United States, if not of the world. But to him, more than to any other man, can be attributed the conquest of the United States of this stretch of territory which, but for his military genius, would have been left under the domineering sway of the English.

In 1777 he laid his daring project before a rather credulous but alert committee in Virginia. Its members were quick to grasp the possibilities and in a short time he was ordered to proceed to Kentucky and take measures for the defense of the colonists on the border with such troops as he could enlist. A private message, however, gave him authority to take and hold Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and the whole Northwest territory. With a handful of men, after several daring military strokes, he captured a number of the larger forts and towns in this locality. He found it occupied mostly by the French, but garrisoned by English soldiers. Kaskaskia was the first important fortress to fall, and among its inhabitants was a certain Roman Catholic priest named Father Gibault, who agreed to go to Vincennes to secure the allegiance of the populace to the new American government. This venerable priest loyally fulfilled his commission and, without the

loss of a drop of blood, the French residents willingly assented to the change of government. This was only one example of the loyalty of the French Catholics to the American cause, and perhaps without them, the success of Clark's expedition would have been very doubtful, if not wholly unsuccessful.

The tact and diplomacy shown by Clark in his relations with the hostile Indians, and the sometimes indifferent French, baffles anything we have read of the diplomats of the European school. His keen and incisive understanding of human nature, particularly that of the Indians, and his military astuteness would do credit to any of our great generals.

His decision to undertake the capture of Fort Sackville in the dead of winter, necessitating long marches over swollen and partially frozen rivers that overran the prairies for miles around, is comparable to the courage of Napoleon and the daring of Hannibal in their successful efforts to conquer the Alps. The dispatch with which he carried out his determination to capture General Hamilton and his men would have done credit to Scipio Africanus. Perhaps he never heard of the latter, but at any rate his methods were those advocated by the famous Roman general. The march to the fort was one of the most memorable undertaken under the American flag. The weather was cold, damp and rainy, and the prairies were turned into lakes and quagmires. Led by the indomitable Clark the heroic troops struggled for ten days through water and ice, having enjoyed neither sufficient food nor rest during all of this time. When the men reached the objective of their long anabasis they were literally starving, having had no provisions for two days. There was a brief siege in which Clark, although clearly outnumbered, showed himself more resourceful than his opponent. We marvel at the defiant terms of surrender proposed by the imperturbable Clark, and even more so, at the courage with which he demanded their fulfilment. It was many years later when another famous citizen from the same Illinois territory aroused the world with the phrase "unconditional surrender." Such was the attitude of his great predecessor, General Clark.

The book is replete with many other dramatic situations that sweep the reader along in a maelstrom of historical events. There is no one climax, but there are several. It would be difficult to find a more heroic achievement in our history than Clark's capture of Vincennes, or of greater results from slenderer means than his subjugation of the Northwest.

Apparently with the intention of giving the reader an opportunity to view the conquest from both sides and to weigh well all the histori-

cal facts, the author has added to the modest account of Clark, the somewhat apologetic report of Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton to the Crown. His control and sway over this vast expanse of territory was, due to the daring activities of the redoubtable Clark, short-lived. It is not at all surprising that the accounts of the chief participants are in direct conflict with one another. This gives the impartial reader an opportunity to consider the viewpoints of both sides.

All in all, the little book makes mighty interesting history—a worthy rival in style and interest to the books of the great American historian, William H. Prescott. The reader will find it an important addition to his library, not alone for its historical value, but also for its interest. It should possess a particular appeal to students of early Illinois history. Many characters closely identified with the early Catholic history of this state are introduced to the reader. A Catholic, proud of the part played by his people in the history of this state, cannot overlook this book. One is impressed with the loyalty of the early French Catholics to the great cause of human liberty and their important contribution cannot be belittled or gainsaid.

JOHN A. ZVETINA, A. B., J. D.

Chicago.

The Gateway to American History, by Randolph G. Adams. Little, Brown & Company. 1927.

A more appropriate and significant title could not have been selected for this very valuable book. It is a most entertaining bit of early American History and is instructive and wholesome as well. The idea embodied in the book was conceived by Mr. Randolph G. Adams, librarian of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. The text is made subsidiary to the many beautiful illustrations and cuts which have been selected from many old books. The author has had access to many of the old histories and has culled from them, with great care, the illustrations indicative of every phase of the early explorations and the establishment of the colonies. These pictures, along with the explanatory text, form a complete pictorial record of the early discoveries and settlements. The pictures have an added significance when we consider that they were published hundreds of years ago in the books and papers that were then in circulation. We are able to visualize the discoveries, the adventures of Columbus, Captain John Smith, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Champlain, as they were seen through the eyes of contemporary artists, many of whom actually experienced these adventures on their trips of

exploration. The cuts were stored up and hidden as engravings in books that are today of the greatest value and greatest rarity, but, until the present time, were little known to the general public. They were sketched when the old world, particularly England, was filled with the voyages and discoveries written by Hakluyt and the wonders that had been seen by Raleigh, by Drake, by Frobisher and Hawkins. The real importance and value of the drawings at this time lie in the fact that they were conceived at a time when the imagination had been touched and kindled by the new explorations. Beyond the far horizon were hidden and unknown lands; strange but flowery shores lie beyond the uncharted seas. Toward these unknown and beckoning shores were turned the prows of adventure; all that had been seen and discussed by the returning adventures fanned the imagination with flame, and this had its corresponding effect on the literary and artistic world, the result being many of these fine engravings which were intended for the instruction and edification of those who remained at home but desired to know more of the newly discovered wonders.

It has been the singular task of Mr. Adams to bring to light these treasures of forgotten lore. His style is both lucid and entertaining, and suggests that of the ideal lecturer. His glowing account of the early discoveries and explorations, the hardships encountered by the daring sailors and self-sacrificing colonists, the shrewd transactions and bloody struggles of the imperturbable settlers with the American Indian, the glowing account of the heroic deeds of the early Catholic missionaries who came, not for gold or for riches, nor for fame and honor, but to win new souls for God—are all very inspiring. The accompanying narrative as a complement to the engravings suggests a very happy combination.

It occurs to me that "The Gateway to American History" would serve very well as a handbook for both teacher and pupil in the history of the early discoveries and the colonial period of this country. While it is not intimated that it should be used as a text book, I have no doubt that it would make a very valuable and attractive reference book.

The student of early American History will find it a very important contribution, for it lays a splendid foundation for the proper understanding and appreciation of the later development of the newly discovered country.

JOHN A. ZVETINA, A. B., J. D.

Chicago

ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XI

JANUARY, 1929

NUMBER III

Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society

28 NORTH FRANKLIN STREET, CHICAGO

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILL.

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Illinois Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME XI

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COLONIAL MARYLAND

By REV. HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

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INTRODUCTION

Years ago it was the privilege of the writer of this sketch to listen to an octogenarian, born the year that Carroll of Carrolltown died, tell the story of a closing chapter of Catholic Maryland. Ours was an idyllis scene beneath the branches of a great tulip tree with myriads of bees, lured by the waxen blooms, making music overhead; far away could be seen the slender tower of old St. Joseph's Cathedral in Bardstown, Kentucky. The speaker told of the exodus of the Catholics from Maryland to Kentucky, at the close of the Revo-

lutionary War. For a century and a half they had held aloft the banner of religious freedom; but weary of the struggle, these Catholic people determined to seek in the west the freedom which had been taken from them in Maryland. Their homes and lands were sold, their household goods were put in wagons and ox-carts; and over the rough roads leading across the Allegheny Mountains wended the slow caravan. Flat-boats were purchased at Pittsburgh, and down the Ohio River floated the exiles. They found homes in central Kentucky and built the first cathedral of the west.

Years passed. The scene shifted. A greater privilege came to the writer—an opportunity of visiting St. Clement's Island, where on that eventful twenty-fifth of March, 1634, the Catholic settlers of Maryland landed; of sailing at moonlight over the bay and in front of the sloping eminence where stood the city of St. Marys; of wandering over the country where once arose the homes of the English immigrants; of gathering up with reverence the broken stones and bricks of the old mansions; of praying in manors, in each room of which during the dire penal times the holy sacrifice of the Mass had been offered; of standing with uncovered head at the foot of the shaft which marks the site of the first court house of the colony; of reading the faded records of the past, and recalling that it was Maryland, Catholic Maryland, that gave to this beloved country the first blessings of religious freedom.

In the Third Council of Baltimore (1884) the venerable hierarchy in a pastoral letter gave expression to these patriotic sentiments: "Back of the events which led to the formation of the Republic, the Church sees the Providence of God leading to that issue. We believe that our country's heroes were the instruments of the God of Nations in establishing this Home of Freedom; to both the Almighty and His instruments in the work we look with grateful reverence. . . . We must keep firm and solid the liberties of our country by keeping fresh the noble memories of the past, and thus sending forth from our Catholic homes into the arena of public life, not partisans, but patriots."

Never should we forget these words; and if it is our duty to keep afresh the general history of our country, much more should we recall and cherish the part which Maryland played in giving the blessing of religious freedom. Three centuries have gone by since the Ark and the Dove bore the English Catholics up the broad Potomac River. A part of the third anniversary of that event must be again to tell the story of Catholic Maryland.

More than a century had passed since Martin Luther broke with the Church and in his revolt brought religious, economic, and political chaos to Germany. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Germany was the richest country in Europe; a great intellectual era awaited her. But the so-called Reformation paralyzed her strength. Her poetry and plastic arts disappeared; her trade and commerce dwindled; the peace and prosperity of her people vanished; and for two centuries Germany was a stricken and helpless nation.

In religion there not only was a revolt against the Catholic Church, but wrangling, discord, hatred and persecution. Scarcely had Luther succeeded in dragging the greater part of northern Germany from the Church, than his own power and authority were menaced by the peasants and Anabaptists. Against them he waged a merciless war, denied to the Anabaptists the very freedom in religion which he claimed for himself, and urged the lords to exterminate the peasants who had dared oppose him. The new doctrines spread to the north, and Sweden and Norway were wrenched from the authority of the Church. Calvin in Switzerland and Knox in Scotland outdid their master Luther; and by the year 1560 Knox was strong enough to force the death penalty upon anyone who dared to attend Catholic worship.

In England the sordid and immoral life of Henry VIII had worked havoc in the lives of the people; and the spoliation of Church and State so ruthlessly begun under Henry was continued under Edward VI. The hands of the robber lords were upon the land. Churches were looted, charitable institutions were pillaged, and the poor were driven forth to die of cold and neglect. The country was overrun with beggars and ruffians; laws were enacted to keep the starving populace at home; and any one was free to seize a vagabond and brand him as his slave.

Just a hundred years had passed since the final breach between Rome and England had taken place (1534). The saintly bishop, John Fisher, and the scholarly and faithful statesman, Sir Thomas More, had paid the penalty of their opposition to the king by death. Without any serious pretext, the monasteries of the land were suppressed and their wealth confiscated by the crown. But it was under Edward VI (1547-1553) that the full force of the new order went into effect. The Book of Common Prayer was introduced, the services of the Catholic Church were discontinued under the penalty of death, churches were desecrated, altars pulled down, and the very

altar stones upon which the sacrifice of the Mass had been offered were trampled under foot. There came a temporary relief under Mary Tudor during the five years after Edward VI; but the persecution was renewed with increasing violence under Elizabeth, by whose enactments it was a felony for priests to celebrate Mass or for Catholics to attend divine service.

Pitiful indeed was the condition of the Catholics in England. Fear of the power of France and Spain augmented the tyranny against those of the old faith. Catholics were suspected, outlawed, persecuted, and put to death. When Charles I came to the throne (1625) he assured the English people that he would grant no favors to the Catholics of the land; but his marriage with Henrietta Maria, the sister of King Louis XIII of France, brought suspicion upon him; and it was later learned that he promised certain liberties to his Catholic subjects. Charles ignored the demands of Parliament and took over the government of the country. He wished to show his power and replenish his treasury. As his father, James I, had, although unwillingly, granted certain concessions to the Puritans in the colonies, it was only natural that Charles would favor a project which would bring protection to Catholics; and an opportunity to carry out his designs came with a renewal of the petition of Lord Baltimore to form a Catholic settlement in the New World.

GEORGE CALVERT, THE FIRST LORD BALTIMORE

The idea of starting a foreign colony as a refuge for the persecuted Catholics of England did not originate with Lord Baltimore. As early as 1574 Sir Humphrey Gylberte undertook such an enterprise but could not openly proclaim that his colony would safeguard the persecuted papists. Queen Elizabeth now had a special law enacted by which those Catholics who fled from England to avoid persecution could be brought back and forced to submit to the new religion or forfeit all their lands and goods. Sir Gylberte's charter was worded so as to protect the Catholic recusants and to prevent their deportation from the colony. The foundation was to be made in Newfoundland. It was expressly stipulated that Catholics who had been fined for not attending Protestant services and were not in a position to pay the fines, should be allowed to accompany the expedition, under the agreement that the fines should be paid when the parties were able to meet their obligations. The charter which Sir Gylberte obtained ordained that all public worship should conform to the Church of

England; but by this very stipulation it was understood that Catholics would not be molested in the private exercise of their religion. The project of Sir Gylberte did not meet with success, and on a return voyage he lost his life in a storm. During the next fifty years numerous charters were issued for English settlements in the New World, many of them like that of Virginia containing anti-Catholic enactments. In 1605 a certain Mr. Windsdale outlined the policy for a Catholic settlement; but while the project was almost ideal, it was judged impossible of execution.

Following the Gunpowder plot (1605) the persecution of the Catholics in England was more rigid than it had been; and the animosity of the English people towards the papists made life all but unbearable for those who still adhered to the teachings of Rome. Meanwhile a young man, though still a Protestant, was rising in power and was gaining that experience which was to serve as his guide when he turned to the religion of Rome. He was George Calvert, later to be known as the First Lord Baltimore. After graduating from Oxford and enjoying the patronage of the Earl of Salisbury, Calvert became Secretary of State in 1619. His domestic life suffered a rude shock by the death of his first wife, in 1622, who had borne him ten children. Like so many Englishmen of his time George Calvert was interested in the colonial settlements of Newfoundland; and on April 7, 1623, he obtained from James I a charter for a colony to be known as Avalon. But in less than two years, and before he could carry out his plans in Avalon, Calvert was admitted into the Catholic Church.

No worldly motives could have influenced him in his change of religion. The enemies of the Church were gathering strength and insisting on a more rigid enforcement of the laws against the Catholics. The lords of the land who had enriched themselves by robbing the Church were fearful of being dispossessed of their ill-gotten riches, and considered the persecution of the Church as their greatest safeguard in the possession of their goods. When in 1625 Calvert made his submission to Rome, during the reign of James I, he knew the cost that he must pay. He had every reason to believe that his course of action would bring him loss of political power. But his sovereign and friends knew his worth and recognized the sacrifice which such an action entailed, and as a guarantee of his friendship and protection, James bestowed upon him an Irish peerage, as Baron of Baltimore; and later gave him a charter which contained more privileges than were given to any other of the thirteen colonies. His conversion was brought about largely by the influence of Thomas,

Baron Arundel of Wardour, whose daughter had married Cecil, the oldest son of Calvert.

Calvert made no secret of his conversion, but at once resigned his office of Secretary of State. In his home, one of the largest rooms was fitted up as a chapel and beautifully decorated. He spoke to his friends about the consolation which had come to him, saw to the instruction of his children, and in every way proved his sincerity and gratitude to God for the wonderful gift of faith. In a letter of condolence to his friend, Lord Wentworth, he expresses these truly Christian sentiments: "There are few, perhaps, who can judge of your sorrow better than I, who have been a long time myself a man of sorrows. But all things in this world pass away—wife, children, honor, wealth, friends, and what else is dear to flesh and blood; they are but lent us until God pleases to call them back again, that we may not esteem anything our own, or set our heart upon anything but Him alone, who remains forever. I beseech His Almighty Goodness to grant that your lordship may, for His sake, bear this cross with meekness and patience whose only Son, our dear Lord and Saviour, bore a greater one for you."

Under his friend and protector, James I, Lord Baltimore received a charter to establish a proprietary form of government; one in which an individual received a grant of land as his private estate in which he could make laws and enforce them under the crown, and bear all expenses of the settlement. It was a policy which appealed to the king, as it gave him foreign subjects and demanded nothing of the exchequer. The First Lord Baltimore, by his political experience at home and abroad, was well fitted to undertake such a form of government. He was ready to risk his fortune and was not easily discouraged.

In 1627 Calvert sailed for Newfoundland, for it was necessary for him to take possession of the land or forfeit the rights of his charter. The venture proved a financial loss and ended in failure, and Calvert turned his eyes to the more genial climate of the south. In 1629 we find Calvert in Virginia, where he left his wife and children and set sail for England to obtain a second charter. Finding strong opposition to his securing any part of Virginia, Lord Baltimore selected a tract of land to the north and east. King Charles, who had succeeded James I, was most favorable to his subject, and made no objection to issuing a new charter; and at the suggestion of the king himself, the colony was to be called *Terra Mariæ*, or *Maryland*, in honor of Henrietta Maria, the Queen. Before the royal seal was put upon the

charter, Lord Baltimore died (15th of April, 1632) at the age of fifty-three, and in the midst of a busy and influential life. "That in the conduct of important business, public and private, in the handling of practical politics, commercial adventures and religious controversy no great error was laid to his account, is no small tribute to his judgment and prudence. And that in the busiest period of a life so active, and while enjoying the heyday of professional success, he should have advanced the interests of religion and conscience into the very first place, is a striking testimony to the sincerity and thoroughness of his character."¹

There was much that was common between the charter which Lord Baltimore as a Protestant had drawn up for Newfoundland and the one which, as a Catholic, he had obtained for Maryland. In both instances Calvert looked to his financial interest. He had expended vast sums of money in one enterprise and was prepared to do so in the second. It was only common prudence, then, that prompted him to look after his interests and those of his family. He was left free to divide the land among those who joined in the expedition, and furthermore to sell or dispose of all kinds of properties.

But it was in securing freedom of worship that Lord Baltimore showed his far-sightedness. By his charter he was granted the power of "license and faculty of erecting and founding churches, chapels and places of worship in convenient and suitable places within the premises." Thus the Catholic colonists would have full liberty in the practice of their religion.² "Calvert had not planned English institutions in Maryland simply as he had found them. He went back to a better time for freedom of action and looked forward to a better time for freedom of thought. While as yet there was no spot in Christendom where religious belief was free, and when even the Commons of England had openly declared against toleration, he founded a community wherein no man was to be molested for his faith. At a time when absolutism had struck down representative government in England, and it was doubtful if a Parliament of freemen would ever meet again, he founded a community in which no laws were to be

¹ "History of the Society of Jesus in North America," by T. Hughes, S. J., Vol. I, p. 234.

² See "Archives of the State of Maryland," Vol. I, p. 78; "Calvert Papers," No. I, pp. 131-132. Not only was religious freedom given to all denominations, but Protestants as well as Catholics were compelled to be present at the first assembly of which records remain (1637). See Archives of the State of Maryland, Vol. I, pp. 1-23.

made without the consent of the freemen. The Ark and the Dove were names of happy omen; the one saved from general wreck the germs of political liberty, and the other bore the olive branch of religious peace.”³

THE ARK AND THE DOVE

On the death of his father, it was left to the second Lord Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, to carry out the project of the new settlement. It was on June 20, 1632, that the charter of the father passed to the son. As Proprietary he was made absolute lord of the land and water within his boundaries, could erect towns, cities and ports, make war or peace, call the whole population to arms and declare martial law, levy tolls and duties, establish courts of justice, appoint judges, magistrates, and other civil officers, execute laws, and pardon offenders. He could erect manors and confer titles and dignities. He could make laws with the assent of the freemen of the province and, in case of emergency, ordinances not impairing life, limb or property, without their assent. He could found churches and chapels and have them consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England and appoint incumbents. The colonists and their descendants were to remain English subjects, free to visit or leave England without hindrance or tax, to hold, acquire or transfer land or other property in England, and to trade freely with England or with other nations. They could have, of course, no representation in Parliament, since the Parliament had no power to make laws for them; but they could accept or reject the laws proposed by the Proprietary. “The only obligation to the sovereign was to deliver two arrows annually at the castle and give one-fifth of all the gold or silver found.”

Cecil Calvert lost no time in pushing the enterprise and in securing Jesuit missionaries for the spiritual good of the colonists and the conversion of the Indians. The first of these Jesuits, Father Andrew White, was to become the principal historian of the expedition. It was understood at the outset that the priests were to devote their time to the spiritual needs of the colonists and Indians, and were to receive support from the government, as was done in the Catholic countries of Europe. However, Cecil Calvert was not true to his promise in this respect, and his failure to keep his promise led to unpleasant dealings. Of the ten million acres which the Proprietary had to give away, he could without any sacrifice have bestowed two thou-

³ “Maryland, the History of a Palatinate,” by W. H. Browne, p. 44.

sand acres on the priests. Moreover, they had been of the greatest help to Cecil in organizing the project; for the fact that Jesuit missionaries were to accompany the expedition induced many leading and rich families to cast their lot with the new adventure.

It was a busy year for Lord Baltimore (1633), for he had to repel attacks of the Lords against his colony, and also the attempts of evil-minded and jealous men who sought to destroy his ships and break up the expedition. As he felt it his duty to remain in England to safeguard his interests at court, he sent his brother Leonard as the leader of the emigrants. It was on the 22nd of November, 1633, that the two ships, the Ark and Dove, sailed forth on their westward course. The Proprietary had prudently instructed his brother to abstain from all public manifestations of the Roman Catholic worship, for their enemies were watchful and would seek for any excuse to bring trouble upon the colony. The Protestants on board were allowed full liberty to practice their religion.

Twenty thousand pounds had been expended by the first Lord Baltimore on the Newfoundland venture; but the Maryland enterprise cost the family but ten thousand pounds. The men who had the most responsibility for the success of the colony were the two brothers of Cecil Calvert, Leonard and George; the Commissioners, Hawley and Cornwallis, Gerard, Wiseman, two by the name of Wintour, Saunders, Cranfield, Greene, Ferfax, Baxter, Dorrel, Medcalfe, Saire, Captain Hill; and the two missionaries White and Altham. Besides there were three hundred laboring men, some of whom were Protestants; but all those who were in authority and responsible for the spirit of the colony were of the Catholic faith. Many came out as servants and paid for their passage by a service of from three to five years. Among them were craftsmen, masons, carpenters, bricklayers and leather dressers; not a few were young men of good families who took this opportunity to seek their fortunes in the New World. When their term of service expired they took up land and were eligible in the assembly.

The two ships were not far from the English coast when in a terrific storm the smaller vessel, the Dove, hung out signals of distress and then seemed to disappear. The sister boat regarded her as lost. Following the ordinary sea routes of the day, the Ark sailed south to the Cape Verde Islands and then struck westward; and later all on board were gladdened to see the Dove making to port with them.

On the 27th of February, 1634, the two boats came to shore at Point Comfort, in Virginia. After some negotiations the new colo-

nists sailed up the broad Chesapeake, and on the 25th of March landed at St. Clement's Island, where the holy sacrifice of the Mass was offered. The true Catholic spirit of the expedition is manifest from the account given by Father White: "On the day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary (March 25) in the year 1634, we celebrated Mass for the first time on this island (St. Clement's). This had never been done before in this part of the world. After we had completed the sacrifice, we took upon our shoulders a great cross, which had been hewn out of a tree, and advancing in order to the appointed place, with the assistance of the governor and his associates, and the other Catholics, we erected a trophy to Christ the Saviour, humbly reciting on our knees the litany of the Sacred Cross with great emotion." Visitors to the Capitol, at Washington, are familiar with the classical picture of Powell: *The Discovery of the Mississippi River by De Soto*. In that painting the Catholic element of the event is manifest. The cross occupies a prominent place, monks are there to bless and lead in prayer, and devout warriors kneel in lowly worship. The artist would draw a similar picture of the landing of the Maryland immigrants on the island in the Potomac River. His canvas would display the most sacred of religious mysteries and the most revered of Christian emblems.

On the 26th of March the boats moved on up the bay, where there was a deep and wide harbor. On an eminence overlooking the waters the immigrants chose the site of the future city of St. Marys.

PROSPERITY OF THE COLONY

Bountiful springtime was upon the land when the colonists took possession of their new homes. Much of the land had already been under cultivation by the Indians, and was ready for the plow and the harrow. The soil of rich black earth, nearly a foot in depth, and well drained owing to the sandy formations beneath, produced generous crops of vegetables and grain and tobacco; and before many years had passed ships carried cargoes of tobacco to the English ports. As the season advanced, wild raspberries grew in profusion, and mulberries and blackberries enabled the housewives to make delicate pies. Walnuts, persimmons, hickory nuts, and chestnuts were stored away for winter use; and acorns furnished ample food for the swine. Huge poplar trees, with their waxy blossoms, lured myriads of bees. White and yellow pines reached high above the oak, sweetgum, maple, and spruce. The damp climate and rich soil were especially adapted to

forest growth; and if a field were neglected for only a few years, trees of every kind sprang up and soon enveloped the place.

Bird life was abundant. The redbird which had remained all winter was joined by the thrush and the mocking-bird. The blue-bird was especially noticed by the settlers, as in its friendly way it made its nest in the orchards or under the eaves of the houses. Large eagles watched for every occasion to carry off a chicken or a lamb, and turkey-buzzards soared gracefully through the blue skies. There were larks, swallows, blackbirds, quail, pheasants, doves, and hawks. Along the margins of shallow waters snipe and bitterns found ready food, and numerous ducks dived for food in the oozy bottoms.

There was little large game, but the Indians occasionally brought in a deer. Of smaller game, however, there was an abundance, and the old chronicles mention rabbits, hares, foxes, opossums, and raccoons. In the oaks and hickories there was the clatter of squirrels, and through the hazel bushes wild turkeys stalked in thousands. Fish, too, abounded, and mention is made of perch, shad, rock flounder, skate, eel, crocus, drum, and trout. After the day's work the settler could go down to a river, and in the dusk catch a supply for several days. Soft and hardshell crabs were so plentiful that barrels could be filled with the catch. Nor has the supply of crabs been exhausted after three centuries; for one may at present sit on the side of a boat or scow and catch a hundred pounds in a day's sport. In the fall and early winter oysters were plentiful; and even in the warmer weather the people did not hesitate to have them on their tables.

But the health of the first settlers left much to be desired. Owing to the damp forests and the interminable stretch of water and bogs, a malaria attacked the people and carried off sixteen of them in a single year. While there were not the same sufferings and privations which were experienced in the other colonies, the new comers complained of their condition. They could not bear the cold of winter or the extreme heat and humidity of summer. However, when the vast timber lands were cleared away, and open fields and pastures dotted the country, the malignant fevers grew less fatal. Still for more than a century it was the complaint that the country was full of fever. The changeable weather was a subject of continual comment, for destructive hurricanes swept over land and water, lightning scarred the bark of many trees. One has only to sit some summer evening on the bank of the Potomac, not far from old St. Marys, and watch a summer storm, to be reminded what this

display of thunder and lightning must have been to the quiet settlers in their homes in the wilderness.

When the city of St. Marys was roughly laid out, the missionaries received for their portion an old Indian cabin which they fitted up for a chapel. They had a residence in the heart of the town on a small tract, and other properties were given them, including 2,000 acres of the south shore of Inigoe's Creek. While the spiritual wants of the pilgrims were attended to, the Fathers had great difficulty in mastering the language of the friendly Indians and of imparting any instruction to them. In 1636 there were three Jesuit priests on the mission, Fathers White, Altham and Rogers; and two Lay Brothers, Gervase and Wood. In 1637 Father Copley came from England to help the missionaries. From the inception of the movement he was interested in the whole project of the Calverts, and did much to assist the Church, collecting alms for the use of his fellow Jesuits and in many ways assisting them materially.

The missionaries had brought with them as servants a family indentured for five years. In 1638, when the period of service was at an end, four other helpers were brought from Virginia; and so edified were they with the lives of the missionaries and Catholics that they were all converted. The spirit of faith and piety among the colonists at the close of the fifth year seemed so satisfactory, that the missionaries made a special mention of it. Frequentation of the sacraments was especially gratifying to the spiritual directors, and was an index that the whole spiritual life of the people was highly praiseworthy. The young children and the grown people had been well instructed in the essentials of their faith; every spiritual assistance had been given to the sick and dying, although at a great sacrifice to the missionaries; there were a few scandals and dissensions, but no vices of a serious nature were being engendered in the province. This was all the more remarkable for many characters not of the best were coming to the city of St. Marys.

It has been noted that while the principal leaders of the expedition were Catholics, many of those who came as indentured servants were Protestants. As this service was for five years only, there suddenly appeared in all the colony in 1638 a number of these persons who had been freed from all indenture and had the right of franchise. Some few of them had been unfriendly to their masters even during the time of service and had on more than one occasion openly attacked the Catholic religion; it is not surprising, then, to find them in a hostile attitude after they had gained their freedom. There had

also come to the colony various types of adventurers, bringing with them the English hostility to the Church. Despite the freedom of religion accorded them, they manifested an open disrespect to the very Catholics who had given them protection. This element was later to join with the incoming Puritans and openly assault the Church in Maryland.

In 1639 an Indian mission was opened at Mattapany on the Patuxent on the west coast of the Chesapeake. It was not only a rallying place for the Indians but was conveniently situated for excursions farther into the state. Later this place was taken over by Lord Baltimore against the protests of the Fathers. That same year Father White began work among the Indians at Pascattaway, near the present city of Washington. The chief, after many months of instruction, wished to be received into the Church, but the patient missionary obliged him to wait until the following year to test his sincerity. Leonard Calvert and many of the more influential men of St. Marys City were present at the baptism of the Indian chief. Everything was done to add solemnity to the religious function. In remembrance of this conversion a huge cross was erected, the Governor assisting in carrying the emblem of salvation and erecting it, while the Litany of the Blessed Virgin was chanted.

So flourishing was the colony after seven years of its existence that the Jesuits seriously contemplated the opening of a college at St. Marys City. This early plan of a college seems all the more remarkable, when we recall that Harvard was opened in New England (1637) seventeen years after the landing of the pilgrims. The people of the colony are described as remarkable for their urbanity and for their desire for better instruction of their children. Their piety and fidelity are especially noted. The prospects of the crops were good, and it was felt that the time had come to give educational opportunities to those parents who wished it for their children.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY BEGAN IN 1634—THE "TOLERATION ACT"

Governor Clayborne of Virginia had from the beginning opposed the new colony of Maryland, on the ground that it infringed upon his own charter. It is true that a part of the land given to Lord Baltimore was included in the Virginia tract; but with the exception of Kent Island it had not been occupied, and in view of the wastelands stretching in every direction with no one to occupy them, Clayborne's claims were forced and inconsiderate. He was seeking for some ex-

cuse to injure the rival colony, and declared in his contentions that land had been taken from him. After pushing his claims unsuccessfully in England, he took matters in his own hands and, with Ingle, attacked the colony and all but brought about its destruction. But Leonard Calvert, who had been taken unawares by the attacking party, gathered his supporters and repelled the invaders. Unfortunately for the colony Leonard Calvert died in 1647; and after a short term of office by Thomas Green, William Stone was appointed governor by the Proprietary.

Religious liberty had been the policy of Maryland from the foundation of the colony; and as the Catholics were in power and Leonard Calvert could carry out the designs of his father and brother, there was no need of an oath to set forth this spirit.¹ But on the death of Leonard and the appointment of the first governor since the foundation of the colony, circumstances demanded some form of oath which would contain the ideals of the colony in respect to religious liberty. Oaths had been devised in England and in other colonies, and so worded as to embarrass Catholics and prevent them from holding any office. The oath of Maryland had for its purpose a just political policy; and, moreover, it was to be the foundation of the law which was enacted a year later and known as the "Toleration Act."

The oath read as follows:

And I do further swear that I will not by myself or any other person, directly or indirectly, trouble, molest, or discountenance any person whatever, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, and in particular no Roman Catholic, for or in respect of religion, nor his or her free exercise thereof within the said province . . . nor will I make any difference of persons in conferring of offices, rewards or favors, for, or in respect to their said religion, but merely as I shall find them faithful and well deserving of his lordship and to the best of my understanding endowed with moral virtues and abilities; and if any other officer or persons whatsoever shall molest or disturb any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, merely for, or in respect of

¹ Not only was there complete toleration in the practice of one's religion, but early in the history of the colony an effort was made to do away with all discord and wrangling about religious topics. See "Archives of the State of Maryland," Vol. 5, preface, p. 1. In 1638 a Catholic was brought to trial and punished for his unfair treatment of his Protestant servants and for denying them the full privileges of their religion. The servants on their part had acted in a most insolent way towards their master, but the court decided that they should not be hampered in their religious rights. See Maryland Archives, Vol. 4, pp. 35-39.

his or her religion, or for the free exercise thereof, upon notice or complaint thereof made to him, I will apply my power and authority to relieve any person so molested or troubled, whereby he may have right done him."

Favored by the kindly laws of Maryland, Puritans were gradually slipping into the colony from the north, and Virginians were crossing the Chesapeake to escape harsh legislation. Fewer Catholics of money and influence were coming from England. All this meant the gradual decline of the power of the original settlers. At the beginning of the year 1649 things did not look bright to the colony. Cecil Calvert at home had continued his policy of sending in laws which he demanded that the governor and the general assembly adopt without comment or change. Leonard Cecil Calvert was no longer there to direct the assembly or to point out to his brother that many of the laws which came from England were impractical in the colony. Governor Stone, with his councillors of state, rejected some of these laws and proceeded to draw up others, which suited the needs of the times.

The Assembly was convened at St. Marys, on the 2nd of April, 1649. There were in the Council two Catholics, Thomas Greene and Robert Clarke; and two Protestants, John Price and Robert Vaughan. The Governor was not of the Catholic faith. Of the nine other members of the assembly six were Catholics and three Protestants. It will thus be seen that the credit for the legislation favoring religious liberty was due to the Catholic votes.² Nor can the influence of the Lord proprietary be overlooked, for from him came the governor's oath, and his was the first vote in the Council; and Stone was chosen for governor because he was willing and ready to carry out the orders of the proprietary. Stone, Price, and Vaughan, as members of the Council, were the political representatives of the second Lord Baltimore; they inaugurated no new movement for religious toleration. The "Act Concerning Religion" declared:

Whereas, the enforcement of conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequences in these commonwealths where it has been practiced, and for the more quiet and peaceful government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity amongst the inhabitants, no person or persons whatever within this province or the islands, ports, harbors, creeks, or havens, thereunto belonging, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be anyways troubled or molested, or

² G. L. Davis, a Protestant writer, in his "The Day Star of American Freedom," grants that the majority of those who passed the "Toleration Act" were of the Catholic Faith, pp. 136-139.

discountenanced, for, or in respect of his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof within this province or the islands thereunto belonging, nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion, against his or her consent."

Pennsylvania lays no claims to the honor of first giving religious liberty to the colonies. William Penn was not born until 1644. Had the policy of Pennsylvania prevailed in the land, a very large proportion of the citizens would have been driven into exile.

Nor can it be claimed that Rhode Island first gave religious liberty to the colonists in the New World. Even though one can point out that Rhode Island issued a charter of religious liberty before the "Toleration Act" of Maryland, the historian must take into consideration all the modifying circumstances of the time.

For example, the Constitution of Mexico of 1917 in plain language announces religious liberty. Article 24 of the Constitution reads: "Everybody is free to embrace the religion of his choice and to practice all ceremonies, devotions, or observations of his respective creed, either in places of public worship or in his home." "See!" cried the champion of Mexico, "there is true religious liberty! What else could one desire?" We are not ready to grant that the wording of this law is in any way ideal. A priest could be arrested for blessing graves or meeting a funeral or marriage procession at the church door; for the law could be pressed to mean that the priest or minister should be strictly within the sacred edifice. But these are but trifling difficulties, for other laws make Article 24 impossible in practice or contradict it outright. One article forbids all vows, and thereby strikes at the root of religious life, and even exempts the secular clergy from obedience to the bishop. All worship "shall be strictly under governmental supervision." In the Province of Tobasco there is permitted but one minister for every thirty thousand people. None but native clergy can minister to the spiritual wants of the people, and laws are carefully worded so as to make the education of the native clergy all but impossible. Nor has Mexico succeeded in convincing serious students of the subject that there is religious freedom, or that religious freedom was ever intended by those who drew up the new Constitution.

Three things must be carefully weighed before the historian can adjudge to any state or country the boon of religious liberty: (1) The law must expressly state that there is to be full exercise of religious liberty. (2) There must not be other laws or clauses or conditions which render the first law impossible. (3) There must be in fact an exercise of this religious liberty. No one can object to the

third condition; for if we turn to a country or people and find that a law has not been exercised during a long period, although it is of such a nature that people would naturally seek to exercise it; then there must be something that is not sincere, and its words, howsoever plain, must have been made void by unwritten laws and conditions which were stronger than the words themselves.

This is precisely what happened in Rhode Island. The original charter of 1640 does clearly indicate religious liberty; but those who drew up the law and enforced it knew that it was never intended for Catholics; they knew that they would not admit Catholics into the Rhode Island Colony; and that they would drive out all or any who secretly found admission. Catholics knew this, and therefore no Catholics went to Rhode Island or attempted to do so. They knew that they were not welcome; that they would be expelled, or jailed, or in other ways persecuted. When troubles arose in Maryland, owing to the power and hatred of the Puritans, no Catholic thought of seeking shelter in Rhode Island. No harbors of this colony were opened to them; they were welcome in no town; expulsion, persecution, branding, or even death awaited the Catholic immigrant to Rhode Island. Catholics understood this; the people of Rhode Island understood it. As far as universal religious liberty was concerned, in Rhode Island it was the purest cant and insincerity.

Different was the religious liberty of Catholic Maryland. It was written plainly in the governor's oath and in the "Toleration Act" of 1649. There were no secret understandings or modifying clauses which hampered the general law or made it impossible in its execution. All who came to Maryland knew this. History points out that the law was not a dead letter, but was interpreted and enforced so as to give complete religious liberty to every one; and this can be said of no other colony in the English possessions.

Did the religious liberty of Maryland include the Jews and atheists? What is the meaning of the restrictive clause, that any one believing in Jesus Christ could have the free exercise of his or her religion? Jews and non-Christians were not excluded.³ The phrase was

³ It is a matter of record that Jews were not excluded from Maryland. The Jewish Encyclopedia under the word "Maryland" and again under "United States" says that "it would appear that a few Jews were resident in Maryland from the earliest days of the colony." Such names as Matthias de Costa, Isaac Barrette, Hester Cordea, David Ferreira. Jacob Leah, appear at the beginning of the palatinate. But Dr. Jacob Lumbroso, who came in January 24, 1656, openly practiced medicine, dealt with the Indians, and carried on correspondence with London merchants; he owned a plantation, but openly professed Judaism. He was tried for blasphemy in 1656, but led go, and lived in the colony until 1666.

intended to exclude the revolting and superstitious practices of the unconverted Indians and negro slaves. Within our time the government has found it necessary to prevent religious dances and festivals among certain Indian tribes of the west. These dances outraged decency and were the manifestations of the lowest forms of superstition. It was necessary at times to prevent or stop the orgies and howlings of the negroes on the plantations, and these restrictions were in force until the Civil War. Only a few years ago in Chicago the police broke up a religious meeting and arrested the leader of a religion known as the Sun-Cult. It was immorality under the guise and cloak of religion. To disband such a meeting did not impair religious liberty in the city; nor did the regulations against the immorality and superstition of the pagan Indians and the negro slaves in Maryland detract one whit from the universal toleration which was extended to Jews and even atheists. In Maryland, then, there was complete religious liberty; the same liberty that we have in this land today.

Whence originated this idea of religious toleration? Did the first Lord Baltimore derive his ideas on the subject from that staunch Catholic, Lord Arundell of Wardour? Did it come from the Jesuit, Henry More, a personal friend and adviser of George Calvert? With all his experience as a statesman before and after his conversion, was not Lord Baltimore in a position to think for himself? Did any one of his time know better than he of the sufferings of Catholics and the need of a place of refuge for them? Let us not lose time in idle speculation. Let us give Lord Baltimore the honor that is his; although he no doubt consulted with others about the practical methods of carrying out his views on religious freedom. George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, drew up the essential laws of religious toleration; Cecil Calvert sought to carry out the conceptions of his father; Leonard brought these ideas to the new world and put them into practice from the beginning of the colony. When Leonard died and a new governor was appointed, an oath was sent him embodying the principles of religious liberty; and in the following year, when the "Toleration Act" was drawn up, Governor Stone and his associates had before them the governor's oath as expressing the views both of the Proprietary and the first Lord Baltimore.

RESUME OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN MARYLAND

For an intelligent understanding of religious liberty in colonial Maryland, one must bear in mind that this liberty began with the foundation of the colony. Freedom in religious belief and practice dates from the landing of the immigrants in 1634; it can be traced

back to the very inception of the plan of the settlement as conceived by Lord Baltimore and enforced by his son Cecil. From 1634 to 1649 there is not a single instance of *official* persecution of any individual on account of his religious tenents or practice, on the contrary, those who violated what were the only laws of the colony at the time, the Proprietor's instruction in the matter of religious toleration, were mulcted heavily for the offense.

Later when liberty in religious matters was threatened by the influx of the Puritan element, a clause was inserted in the governor's oath to ward off the danger. There is some dispute about the date of the oath. Granted that it was first administered in 1647 or 1648, its object was not to augment or extend religious liberty as exercised in Maryland, but only to protect that which had existed from the beginning of the colony. Much, too, had been written about the "Toleration Act" of 1649. That enactment added nothing to religious liberty. It was only a safeguard. It took the religious liberty which had been recognized from 1634, and the governor's oath of a later date, and emphasized them by making them a law.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS TROUBLES

It has been wisely said that this act of 1649 was rather the beginning of the end of religious freedom in Maryland than the date of the inception of liberty. At this period (1649) the enemies of religious liberty were gaining in numbers and power, and those who still directed the policy of the colony hurried to write religious liberty into the colonial statutes. It was not a new law, but the old law and practice—though already somewhat weakened—to secure the acquiescence of those who had not shared in the spirit of liberty, so essentially connected with the inception of the Palatinate.

One wonders why Cecil Calvert, after the death of his brother, did not visit the colony and obtain first-hand information about the condition of the settlers and the hardships and disadvantages which they had to meet. But there were ever new problems to be considered in England; and after the dissolution of Parliament by Cromwell (1653), it required sagacious negotiations for him to maintain his political power.¹ Cecil did not lose his charter during these changing and turbulent times; but while he held on to the rights of his property, he could not defend the colonists from another attack of the ever

watchful and upscrupulous Clayborne and his associates. After an unsuccessful attempt to have Maryland joined with Virginia, Clayborne considered himself in a position to ignore Cromwell, and mustering a force of mal-contents he forced Governor Stone to resign and placed one of his own favorites in power. This man, Captain William Fuller, was from Providence, a Puritan settlement on the Severn River. Under Fuller a new assembly was convoked; and the commissioners, after repealing the "Toleration Act" of 1649, passed another law denying all political power to Catholics. They declared, moreover, that any one coming to the colony could take up property irrespective of the claims of the Proprietary. As such measures would have led to the hasty dissolution of the colony, Cecil urged Stone to have recourse to arms. The orders were carried out by the deposed governor, but his force of a hundred and thirty-seven men were unable to cope with the more numerous soldiers of Clayborne. Some of Stone's men were killed in action and others executed after a truce had been signed; and only at the intervention of some friendly soldiers on the enemy's side was Stone's life spared. For a second time the homes and estates of the Catholics were robbed by the followers of Clayborne, and the missionaries forced to seek safety in flight.

(To be continued)

¹After the fall of the Cromwell government in England, religious liberty, which had been revoked by the Puritans, was again enforced in Maryland. See "Maryland Archivs," Vol. 3, pp. 325, 384.

ILLINOIS: THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN MID-AMERICA

CHAPTER VI

INDIANS FOUND BY THE DISCOVERERS AND EXPLORERS

When white men first came to the Illinois country, they found the parts they visited inhabited by Indians. Not all of the different tribes of Indians were seen by any of the early white visitors, but as time passed it was learned that there were at least eight different tribes that spent a part or all of their times within what are now the boundaries of Illinois. These several tribes were the Illinois, Miami, Kickapoo, Mascouten, Pottawatomi, Sac and Fox, Winnebago and Shawnee. These were all members of the Algonquin family of Indians. The Illinois, which was the most numerous in the locality of the present state, was again divided into five tribes or divisions, namely: the Kaskaskia, Peoria, Tamaroa, Cahokia and Metchigamia.

It was members of the Illinois tribe that the explorers first met, and it was with people of the Illinois that Father Marquette and Louis Jolliet had all their dealings. As early as the year 1670 when Father Marquette was laboring in the mission at the Point de Esprit at the Southwestern extremity of Lake Superior, he met numbers of the Illinois Indians and obtained much information from them, and Father Dablon tells us that "this induced him to make several efforts to commence this undertaking."

It was the Illinois that Father Marquette and Jolliet visited on the 25th of June, 1673, and that received and feasted them with such cordiality. It was also the Illinois that he met on his return journey at Peoria Lake and at the Kaskaskia village near what is now Utica, Illinois, and it was to the Illinois that he first preached the Gospel.

Father Marquette's account contained in his relation of his first voyage is the first we have of this division of the American Indians. It is as follows:

"When one speaks the word 'Illinois,' it is as if one said in their language, 'the men,' as if the other savages were looked upon by them merely as animals. It must also be admitted that they have an air of humanity which we have not observed in the other nations that we have seen upon our route. The shortness of my stay among them did not allow me to secure all the information that I would

have desired; among all their customs, the following is what I observed:

“They are divided into many villages, some of which are quite distant from that of which we speak, which is called peouarea (Peoria). This causes some difference in their language, which, on the whole, resembles Allgonquin, so that we easily understood each other. They are of a gentle and tractable disposition; we experienced this in the reception which they gave us. They have several wives, of whom they are extremely jealous; they watch them very closely, and cut off their noses or ears when they misbehave. I saw several women who bore the marks of their misconduct. Their bodies are shapely; they are active and very skillful with bows and arrows. They also use guns, which they buy from our savage allies who trade with our French. They use them especially to inspire, through their noise and smoke, terror in their enemies; the latter do not use guns, and have never seen any, since they lived too far toward the west. They are warlike, and make themselves dreaded by the distant tribes to the south and west, whither they go to procure slaves; these they barter, selling them at a high price to other nations, in exchange for other wares. Those very distant savages against whom they war have no knowledge of Europeans; neither do they know anything of iron, or of copper, and they have only stone knives. When the Illinois depart to go to war, the whole village must be notified by a loud shout, which is uttered at the doors of their cabins, the night and the morning before their departure. The captains are distinguished from the warriors by wearing red scarfs. These are made, with considerable skill, from the hair of bears and wild cattle. They paint their faces with red ochre, great quantities of which are found at a distance of some days’ journey from the village. They live by hunting, game being plentiful in that country, and on Indian corn, of which they always have a good crop; consequently, they have never suffered from famine. They also sow beans and melons, which are excellent, especially those that have red seeds. Their squashes are not of the best; they dry them in the sun, to eat them during the winter and the spring. Their cabins are very large, and are roofed and floored with mats made of rushes. They make all their utensils of wood, and their ladles out of the heads of cattle, whose skulls they know so well how to prepare that they use these ladles with ease for eating their sagamite.”¹

It has already been seen that the Illinois treated Father Marquette with great consideration, and it may be said that very little was known of the other tribes until La Salle and his party made their journeys through the Illinois country. At that time, Father Louis Hennepin, who was the historian of the first voyage, set down his impressions of the Indians found along the route, and those added materially to the Indian lore of that time. The following extracts from Father Hennepin’s remarks are interesting:

¹ Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, pp. 24-34.

“Before I speak in particular of the Illinois, I think fit to observe here, that there is a nation of the Miami, who inhabit the banks of a fine river within fifteen leagues from the lake in the latitude of 41 degrees. The Maskoutens and Outtouagamis live more Northward of the River Mellioki (Milwaukee), which runs into the lake in the latitude of 43 degrees. To the West of it live the Kickapoos and Ainoves (Iowas) who have two villages, and to the west of these there is the village of the Illinois Kaskaskia, situated towards the source of the River Chicago. The Authoutantas and Maskoutens-Nadouessians live within one hundred and thirty leagues of the Illinois in three great villages on the banks of a fine river which discharges itself into the great river Mississippi. We shall have occasion to talk of these and several other nations.

“Most of these Savages, and especially the Illinois, make their cabins of flat rushes which they sew together, and line them with the same; so that no rain can go through it. They are tall, strong, and manage their bows and arrows with great dexterity; for they did not know the use of firearms before we came into their country. They are lazy, vagabonds, timorous, pettish, thieves, and so fond of their liberty that they have no great respect for their chiefs.

Their villages are open, and not enclosed with palisades as in some other places, because they have not courage enough to defend them, for they fly away as soon as they hear their enemies approach. Besides their arrows, they use two other weapons, a kind of a pike and a club of wood. Their country is so fertile that it supplies them with all necessaries for life, and especially since we taught them the use of iron tools to cultivate it.

“As there are some stony places in this country where there is a great quantity of serpents, very troublesome to the Illinois, they know several herbs which are a quicker and surer remedy against their venom than our treacle or orvietan. They rub themselves with these herbs, after which they play with those dangerous serpents without receiving any hurt. They take the young ones and put them some times into their mouth. They go stark naked in summer-time, wearing only a kind of shoes made of the skins of bulls; but the winter being pretty severe in their country, tho’ very short, they wear gowns made of the skins of wild beef or of bulls which they dress and paint most curiously as I have already observed.

“The Illinois, as most of the Savages of America, being brutish, wild and stupid, and their manners being so opposite to the morals of the Gospel, their conversation is to be despaired of, till time and commerce with the Europeans has removed their natural fierceness and ignorance and thereby made them more apt to be sensible of the charms of Christianity. I have met with some who were more teachable; and Father Zenobe told me that he baptized two or three of them at the point of death, because they desired it; and showed some good disposition to induce him to grant that demand. They will readily suffer us to baptize their children and would not refuse it

themselves, but they are incapable of any previous instruction concerning the truth of the Gospel and the efficacy of the sacraments.”²

Hundreds of volumes have been written and the personal observations of many travelers and pioneers have been quoted to describe the Indians, their habits and customs. Other things being equal, the contemporary account is the best authority, and if the writer be trained to the task, such training must add value. The remarks of Marquette and Hennepin with reference to the Indians are conceded to be reliable, and the reasons that make them authoritative apply to several other early visitors to this region, and especially to those of Father Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, S. J., who, in many quarters is believed to be one of the world's greatest historians. Charlevoix passed through the Illinois country over much the same route as Marquette and La Salle in 1721, and besides committing to paper many other things of interest, gave a complete account of the Indians in the territory, following the individual's growth from birth to death, and even describing the ceremonies subsequent to death. This account of the Indians by Charlevoix is contained in letters written to the Duchess of Lesdiguières, and being very rare, is quite inaccessible to the average reader. It has not heretofore been made extensive use of for the purpose of informing us with regard to the natives found here by the discoverers and explorers. Such a lengthy quotation as is here used it is felt is justified by the importance of the subject and the inaccessibility of first-hand information.

“The children of the Indians after leaving off the use of the cradle, are under no sort of confinement, and as soon as they are able to crawl about on hands and feet, are suffered to go stark naked wherever they have a mind, through woods, water, mire and snow, which gives them strength and agility, and fortifies them against the injuries of the air and weather; but this conduct, as I have already remarked, occasions weaknesses in the stomach and breast, which destroy their constitution very early. In the summer time they run the moment they get up to the next river or lake, where they remain a great part of the day playing in the same manner we see fishes do in good weather near the surface of the water. Nothing is more proper than this exercise to render the body active.

They take care likewise to put the bow and arrow into their hands betimes, and in order to excite in them that emulation which is the best mistress of the arts, there is no necessity of placing their breakfast on the top of a tree as was formerly done to the Lacedæmonian youth; they are all born with so strong a passion for glory as to have no need of a spur; thus they shoot their arrows with wonderful exactness, and it scarce costs them any trouble to arrive at a like dexterity

²Thwaites, *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, p. 166.

in the use of our firearms. They also cause them to wrestle together, and so keen are they in this exercise that they would often kill one another, were they not separated in time; those who come off with the worst are so mortified at it that they can never be at rest till they have had their revenge.

We may in general say that fathers and mothers neglect nothing in order to inspire their children with certain principles of honor which they preserve their whole lives, but which are often ill enough applied; and in this consists all the education that is given them. They take care always to communicate their instructions on this head in an indirect manner. The most common way is by rehearsing to them the famous exploits of their ancestors or countrymen: the youth take fire at these recitals and sigh for an opportunity of imitating what they have thus been made to admire. Some times in order to correct their faults they employ tears and entreaties, but never threats; these would make no manner of impression on minds which have imbibed this prejudice, that no one whatever has a right to force them to anything.

A mother on seeing her daughter behave ill bursts into tears; and upon the others asking her the cause of it, all the answer she makes is, *Thou dishonourest me.* It seldom happens that this sort of reproof fails of being efficacious. Notwithstanding, since they have had a more frequent commerce with the French, some of them begin to chastise their children, but this happens only among those that are Christians, or such as are settled in the colony. Generally the greatest punishment which the Indians make use of in chastising their children, is by throwing a little water in their face; the children are very sensible of this, and in general of everything that looks like reproof, which is owing to this, that pride is the strongest passion at this age.

Young girls have been known to strangle themselves for a slight reprimand from their mothers, or for having a few drops of water thrown in their faces, warning them of what was going to happen in such words as these, *You shall not have a daughter long to use so.* The greatest evil in this sort of education is that what they exhort young people to is not always virtue, or that what comes nearly to the same thing, that the ideas they give them of it are not just. In fact, nothing is so much instilled into them, whether by precept or example as an implacable desire of revenge.

It would seem, Madam, that a childhood so ill instructed, should be followed by a very dissolute and turbulent state of youth; but on one hand the Indians are naturally quiet and betimes masters of themselves, and are likewise more under the guidance of reason than other men; and on the other hand, their natural disposition, especially in the northern nations, does not incline them to debauchery. They, however, have some usages in which no sort of regard is paid to modesty, but it appears that in this, superstition has a much greater share than a depravation of heart.

The nations in these parts are not distinguished by their habit: the men in hot weather have often no garment except a shirt: In

winter they wear more or fewer clothes in proportion to the climate. They wear on their feet a sort of sockes made of deer-skin dried in the smoke; their shoes are also of skins or pieces of stuff wrapped round the leg. A waistcoat of skins covers their bodies down to their middle, over which they wear a covering when they can get it; if not they wear a robe of bear-skin or of several skins of beavers, otters, or other such like furs, with the hairy side inwards. The woman's bodices reach down to a little above the knee, and when they travel they cover the head with their coverings or robes. I have seen several who wore little bonnets made in the manner of leather caps; others of them wear a sort of cowl, which is sewed to their vests or bodices, and they have also a piece of stuff or skin which serves them for a petticoat, and which covers them from the middle down to the mid leg.

They are all very fond of shirts, which they never wear under their vests till they become dirty, and never put them off till they fall off with rottenness, they never giving themselves the trouble to wash them. Their tunics or vests of skins are commonly dried in the smoke like their frocks, that is, they are suffered to be fully penetrated with it, when they rub them till they are capable of being washed like linen. They also dress them by steeping them in water, and afterwards rub them between their hands till they become dry and pliant. They are, however, much fonder of our stuffs and coverings, which they esteem much more commodious.

Several of them paint themselves as the Piots did formerly, over the whole body: others in some parts only. This is not considered by them as purely ornamental; they find it, likewise as is said, of great use to them: it contributes much to defend them from the cold and wet, and saves them from the persecution of the gnats. It is, however, only in the countries occupied by the English, and especially in Virginia, that the custom of painting themselves all over is very common. In New France most are satisfied with making a few figures of birds, serpents or other animals, and even foliage or the like, without any order or symmetry, and often on the face, and some times on the eye-lids, according to the caprice of the person. Many of the women, too, cause themselves to be painted over the jaw-bone in order to prevent the toothache.

This operation which is done by pricking the parts, is not painful in itself; it is done in this manner: they begin with tracing on the skin after it is well stretched, the figure they have a mind to paint on it. They afterwards prick with the bone of a fish or with needles all these traces even till the blood comes, afterwards they rub it over with charcoal and other colors well pulverized. These powders insinuate themselves under the skin so that the colors are never effaced. But in some, after a time, the skin swells; then there arises a tetter accompanied with an inflammation: this is commonly followed by a fever, and if the weather proves hot, or if the operation has been pushed too far, the life of the patient is endangered.

The color with which they paint their faces and the grease with which they rub the whole body, produce the same advantages, and in the opinion of the Indians, contribute as much to the beauty and comeliness of the person as the pricking. The warriors paint themselves when they take the field in order to terrify the enemy, and perhaps, too, with a view to hide their own fear, for we must not believe them to be entirely exempt from it. Young persons do it, in order to conceal their youth, which makes them less esteemed by the old soldiers, or their paleness after some disease which they would be afraid would be taken for the effect of their want of courage. They do it likewise in order to improve their good looks; in which case the colors are more lively and in greater variety: they also paint the prisoners who are condemned to die, for what reason I know not; this is perhaps done to adorn the victim who is about to be sacrificed to the god of war. Lastly, they paint dead persons and expose them covered with their finest robes, and this, no doubt, that they may conceal the dead paleness which disguises them.

The colors made use of on these occasions are the same employed in dying their skins, and are drawn from certain earths and from the barks of trees. These are not very lively, but are very difficult to efface. The men add to these ornaments some down of swans or other birds, which they scatter over their hair, which is besmeared with fat by way of powder. To this they add feathers of all colors, and tufts of hair of different animals, all placed in a very grotesque manner. The disposition of their hair, sometimes bristling on one side and lying flat on the other, or dressed in a thousand odd ways; with pendants in their ears and sometimes in their nostrils, a large shell of porcelain hanging from their neck or on their breast, crowns of feathers with claws, talons or heads of birds of prey, small deer horns; all these are so many essential articles of their dress. But whatever is of an extraordinary value is always employed in adorning their captives when these wretches make their first entry into the village of the conquered. It is to be remarked that the men take no care to adorn any part but the head. Quite the reverse happens with the women. They scarce use any dress on their heads at all; only they are very jealous of their hair and would think themselves dishonored forever were it to be cut. Thus, when at the death of their relations they cut off part of the hair, they pretend to show by this act the most extreme grief they are capable of. In order to present this ornament of the head they rub it often with fat, powder it with the bark of a certain tree, and sometimes with vermilion, then wrap it in the skin of an eel or serpent by way of locks which are plaited in form of a chain and which hang down to their middle. As to the face, they content themselves with drawing a few lines on it with vermilion or other colors.

The nostrils are never bored, and it is only among some nations that their ears are so. Where this is the case, they insert in them or hang to them, as well as the men, beads of porcelain. When they are in their finest dress they wear robes on which are painted

all sorts of figures, small colors of porcelain, without any great order or symmetry, and a kind of border tolerably well worked with the hair of the porcupine, which they also paint with different colors. They adorn in the same manner their children's cradles, and over the extremity towards the head, they fix a semicircle or two of cedar that they may cover the child without incommoding its head.

Besides, the care of household affairs and making the necessary provision of wood, the women are likewise also charged with the culture of the fields; as soon as the snows are melted and the water sufficiently drained off, they begin with preparing the ground, which is done by stirring it slightly with a crooked piece of wood, the handle of which is very long, after having set fire to the dried stalks of their maize and other herbs which have remained since the last harvest. Besides that, those sorts of grain which are cultivated by these people are all summer corn, they pretend that the nature of the soil of this country will not permit them to sow anything before the winter. But I believe that the true reason why corn would not sprout if it were to be sown in the autumn, is either that it would spoil during the winter, or would rot on the melting of the snows. It may also be, and it is the opinion of several persons, that the corn which is sown in Canada, though originally come from France, has contracted through length of time, the nature and properties of summer corn, which is not strong enough to sprout several times, as it happens to such sorts of grain as we sow in September and October.

Beans or rather caravanches are sown with maize, the stalk of which serves for support to them; I think I remember to have been told that it is from us the Indians received this sort of pulse which they hold in great esteem, and which, in fact, differs nothing from ours. But what I am surprised at is, that they make little or no use of our peas which have acquired in the soil of Canada a degree of excellence much superior to what they have in Europe. Turn-soles, watermelons and pumpkins are first raised in a hot-bed and afterwards transplanted.

The women commonly assist one another in their labor in the fields, and when reaping time comes, they have sometimes recourse to the men, who then condescend to put their hands to work. The whole concludes with a festival and with a feast which is given in the night. Their corn and other fruits are preserved in repositories which they dig in the ground, and which are lined with large pieces of bark. Some of them leave the maize in the ear, which is tufted like our onions, and hang them on long poles over the entry of their cabins. Others thresh it out and lay it up in large baskets of bark, bored on all sides to hinder it from heating. But when they are obliged to be from home for any time, or when they apprehend some irruption of the enemy, they make great concealments under ground where these sorts of grain are exceedingly well preserved.

In the northern parts they sow little, and in several places none

at all, but purchase maize by way of exchange for other commodities. This sort of pulse is very wholesome, nourishing and light upon the stomach. The way in which our French Canadian travelers commonly dress it is to boil it a little in a sort of lye. In this state it keeps a long time; they commonly make their provision of it for long journeys, and complete the dressing of it as they want it by boiling it in water or in broth, if they can get any, with a little fat along with it.

This is no disagreeable eating, but many are of opinion that the too constant use of it is prejudicial to the health, the lye giving it a corrosive quality, the effects of which become sensible after some time. When the maize is in the ear and still green, some roast it on the coals, in which way it has an excellent flavor. They commonly regale strangers with this dish. They also send it in some places to persons of distinction who arrive in their village, much in the same manner as they present the freedom of a city in France.

Lastly, it is of this pulse the *Sagamity* is made, which is the most common food of the Indians. In order to get this they begin with roasting it, they afterwards bruise it, separate it from the hulk and then make it into a sort of pap, which is insipid when without meat or prunes to give it a relish. It is sometimes made into meal, called *farino froide*, and is the most commodious and best provision for a journey; and such persons as walk on foot can carry no other. They also boil the maize in the ear whilst it is still tender, they afterwards roast it a little, then separate it from the ear and lay it to dry in the sun; this will keep a long time, and the sagamity made of it has an excellent flavor.

The detail of these dishes is a proof how little delicate the Indians are in their eating: we should also be of opinion that their taste is very much vitiated, were it possible to fix this point. They are above all things fond of fat, which when they can get it, is the reigning ingredient in all their cookery; some pounds of candles in a kettle of sagamity makes an excellent dish with them.

The Southern nations had no kitchen utensils, but some vessels of earthen-ware. In the North they made use of wooden kettles, and made the water boil by throwing into it red hot pebbles. Our iron pots are esteemed by both as much more commodious than the others, and are the commodity you can promise most to dispose of quickly in trading with the Indians. Among the Western nations they use wild oats instead of maize: this is likewise very wholesome, and if less nourishing, the hunting of the buffalo which is very plentiful in those parts, abundantly compensates that defect. Amongst the wandering Indians who never cultivate the ground, the sole resource when their hunting and fishing fall short, is a kind of moss which grows on certain rocks, and which our Frenchmen call *Trippe de Roches*; nothing can be more insipid than this food, which is even very far from being substantial, and can at most keep one from dying of hunger. I am less still able to conceive what has, however, been attested by persons worthy of credit, that the Indians eat as a

great dainty a kind of maize which is laid to rot in standing water as we do hemp, and which is taken out quite black and stinking. They even add that such as have taken a liking to this strange dish, do not with their will lose any of the water or rather of the dirt that runs from it, and the smell of which alone would be enough to turn the stomach of any other person. It is probably necessity alone which has discovered this secret, and if this does not likewise constitute all the seasoning to it, nothing can be stronger proof that there is no disputing of tastes.

The Indian women make bread of maize, and though this is only a mass of ill kneaded paste without leaven, and baked under ashes, these people reckon it excellent, and regale their friends with it; but it must be eaten hot for it will not keep cold; sometimes they mix beans, different fruits, oil and fat with it: one must have a good stomach to digest such dainties.

The Indians make no other use of the turnsoles (sunflowers), but to extract from them an oil with which they rub themselves: this is more commonly drawn from the seeds than from the root of this plant. This root differs little from what we call in France *Topinambours* or apples of the earth. Potatoes so common in the islands and on the continent of South America, have been planted with success in Louisiana. The continual use which all the nations of Canada made of a kind of tobacco which grows all over this country, has given occasion to some travelers to say they swallowed the smoke of it which served them for food; but this has since been discovered to be a falsity, and to have no foundation, except from their having been observed to remain a long time without eating. After once tasting our tobacco they can no longer endure their own, and it is very easy to gratify them in this point, tobacco growing very well here, and it is even said that by making a proper choice of the soil, we might raise a most excellent sort of it.

The lesser occupations of the women and what is their common employment in their cabins, are the making of thread from the interior pellicles of the bark of a tree called white-wood which they manufacture nearly as we do hemp. The women, too, are the dyers: they work also at several things made of bark, and make small figures with the hair of the porcupine; they make small cups or other utensils of wood, they paint and embroider deer skins and they knit belts and garters with the wool of the buffalo.

As for the men they glory in their idleness, and actually spend more than half their lives in doing nothing from a persuasion that daily labor degrades a man, and that it is only proper for women. The proper function of man, say they, is to fish, hunt and go to war. It is they, however, who are to make everything necessary for these three exercises: thus the making of arms, nets, and all their hunting and fishing equipage as well as their canoes with their rigging, their racquets, or snow shoes, the building and repairing of their cabins, are the office of the men, who notwithstanding on these occasions often make use of the assistance of the

women. The Christians are a little more industrious, but never work except by way of penance.

These people, before we provided them with hatchets and other instruments, were very much at a loss in felling their trees and making them fit for the uses they intended them for. They burned them near the root, and in order to split and cut them into proper lengths, they made use of hatchets made of flint which never broke, but which required a prodigious time to sharpen. In order to fix them in a shaft, they cut off the top of a young tree, making a slit in it, as if they were going to graft it, into which they inserted the head of the axe. The tree growing together again in length of time, held the head of the hatchet so firm that it was impossible for it to get loose: they then cut the tree at the length they judged sufficient for the handle.

Their villages are generally of no regular form. Most of our ancient accounts have represented them of a round figure, and perhaps the authors of them saw none but such as were so. In a word, imagine to yourself, Madam, a confused heap of cabins placed without any order or design, some of them like cart houses, others like so many tubs, built of bark, supported by a few posts and sometimes coarsely plastered on the outside with clay and, in fact, built with much less art, neatness and solidity than those of the beavers. These cabins are from fifteen to twenty foot broad, and sometimes a hundred in length. In this case they have several fires, each fire serving for a space of thirty feet.

When the floor happens not to be large enough for bedding for all the persons in the family, the young folks have their beds on a kind of loft five or six feet from the ground, and which runs the whole length of the cabin; the household furniture and provisions are placed above that on shelves laid crossways next the roof. There is commonly before the entry, a sort of vestibule or lobby where the youth sleep in the summer-time, and which serves as a repository for wood in the winter. The doors are only so many pieces of bark, suspended from the top like the ports of a ship. These cabins have neither chimneys nor windows, only there is left in the middle of the roof an aperture by which part of the smoke gets out, and which they are obliged to stop up when it rains or snows, as also to put out the fire if they would not be blinded with smoke.

The Indians are more skillful in erecting their fortifications than in building their houses; here you see villages surrounded with a good palisado and with redoubts, and they are very careful to lay in proper provision of water and stones. These palisadoes are double, and even sometimes treble, and have generally battlements on the outward circumvallation. The piles of which they are composed are interwoven with branches of trees, without any void space between. This sort of fortification was sufficient to sustain a long siege whilst the Indians were ignorant of the use of firearms.

Every village has a pretty large square, but they are seldom regular.

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After having seen in what manner they are treated during sickness, we shall take a view of them whilst they are dying and of what passes after death.

For the most part, when they believe themselves past hopes of recovery, they put on a resolution truly stoical, and even see their death hastened by those persons who are dearest to them without testifying the least chagrin. No sooner has the physician pronounced sentence on a dying person than he makes an effort to harangue those who are about him. If he is the head of a family, he makes his funeral oration beforehand, which he concludes with giving his children the best advice he can; afterwards he takes his leave of everybody, gives orders for a feast, in which all the provisions remaining in the cabin must be consumed, and lastly receives presents from his family.

While this passes, they cut the throats of all the dogs they can catch, that the souls of these animals may give information to the people in the other world that such a person is soon coming to join them; and they throw all their bodies into the kettle in order to increase the feast. The repast being over, they begin their lamentations, which are interrupted with taking their last farewell of the dying person, wishing him a good voyage, comforting him on his separation from his friends and relations, and assuring him that his children will maintain all the glory he has acquired.

It must be confessed, Madam, that the indifference with which these people face death has something admirable in it, and this is so universal that an Indian has seldom been known to be uneasy on being informed that he has but a few hours to live; the same genius and principle prevail everywhere, though the usages with respect to what I have been now relating vary greatly in the different nations. Dances, songs, invocations and feasts are everywhere prescribed by the physicians, remedies almost all of them more likely, according to our notions, to kill a man in perfect health than to recover a sick person. In some places they are contented with having recourse to the spirits, who, if the patients recover their health, have all the honor of the cure, but the sick person is always the most unconcerned about his fate.

On the other hand, if these people show little judgment in the manner of their treating the sick, it must be confessed that they behave with regard to the dead with a generosity and an affection that cannot be too much admired. Some mothers have been known to preserve for years together the corpse of their children and others to draw the milk from their breasts and sprinkle it on their graves. If a village in which there are any dead corpse happens to be set on fire, the first thing done is to remove them to a place of safety: they strip themselves of everything most valuable about them in order to adorn the deceased: they open their coffins from

time to time in order to change their habits, and they take victuals from their mouths in order to carry them to their graves and to places where they imagine their souls resort. In a word they are much more expensive upon the dead than the living.

As soon as the sick person has fetched his last breath, the whole cabin resounds with lamentations, which continues as long as the family is in a condition to furnish the expense, for open table must be kept during all that time. The carcass adorned with the finest robe, the face painted, the arms of the deceased with everything he possessed laid by his side, is exposed at the gate of the cabin, in the same posture in which he is to lie in the tomb, and that is in many places the same with that of a child in the womb. It is customary among some nations for the relations of the deceased to fast till the funeral is over, all which interval is passed in weeping and howling, in regaling all those who visit them, in making the elogium of the dead, and in reciprocal compliments. Amongst other nations they hire mourners who acquit themselves perfectly well of their duty. They sing, they dance and weep incessantly, and always in cadence; but this outward show of borrowed grief is not prejudicial to that which nature exacts from the relations of the deceased.

It appears to me that they carry the corps to the place of burial without any ceremony, at least I have found nothing upon this head in any relation; but when they are once in their grave, they take care to cover them in such manner that the earth does not touch them, so they lie as in a cell entirely covered with skins, much richer and better adorned than any of their cabins. A post is afterwards erected, on which they fix everything capable of expressing the esteem in which they held the deceased. His portrait is sometimes placed upon it, with whatever else can serve to make passengers acquainted with his state and condition and signify the most remarkable actions of his life. Fresh provisions are carried to the place every morning, and as the dogs and other beasts do not fail to take advantage of this, they would fain persuade themselves that it is the soul of the deceased who comes to take some refreshment.

After this, it is not to be wondered at if the Indians believe in apparitions: In fact they have numberless stories of that kind. I have seen a poor man, who merely by the strength of hearing them talked of, imagined he had always a troop of dead men at his heels; and as people took a pleasure in terrifying him, he at last became stark mad. After, however, a certain term of years, they use as much precaution to efface the remembrance of those they have lost from their minds, as they had before taken care to preserve it, and this they do entirely to put an end to the grief they felt on that occasion.

Some of our missionaries asked of their converts one day why they deprived themselves of the most necessary things in favor of their dead? "It is," answered they, "not only to testify to our neighbors the love we bore them, but likewise to prevent our having always before our eyes, objects, which being constantly used by

them, must incessantly renew our grief." It is likewise for this reason they refrain during a certain time from mentioning their names; and that, if any other of the family hears it, he quits it all the time the mourning continues. This likewise is probably the reason why the highest affront that can be offered to any one is to tell him: *Your father is dead, or your mother is dead.*

When an Indian dies in the time of hunting, his body is exposed on a very high scaffold, where it remains till the departure of the company, who carry it with them to the village. There are some nations who have the same custom with respect to all their dead, and I have seen it practiced among the Missisaguez at the Narrows. The bodies of those who are killed in war are burnt, and the ashes carried back in order to be deposited in the sepulchres of their ancestors. These sepulchres, among those nations who are best fixed in their settlements, are a sort of burial grounds near the village. Others inter their dead in the woods at the foot of some tree, else dry them and preserve them in boxes till the festival of the dead, of which I shall presently say somewhat; but in some other places, a ceremonial ridiculous enough is put in practice with respect to those who have been drowned or starved to death by the cold.

Before I enter on the description of it, it will be proper to take notice, Madam, that the Indians believe when such accidents happen, that the souls are angry and will not be appeased till the bodies are found. Then the preliminaries of weeping, dancing, singing and feasting being first over, the body is carried to the burial place, or if that is at too great a distance, to the place where it is to remain till the festival of the dead. A very large ditch is dug here and a little fire kindled. Then the young men approach the carcass, cut the flesh from those parts which have been marked out by the master of ceremonies and throw it into the fire together with the bowels. During this whole operation, the women and especially the relations of the deceased, continue turning round those who are at work, exhorting them to acquit themselves well of their duty, and putting grains of porcelain in their mouths; as we do sugar plums in the mouths of children when we would have them do any particular thing.

The burial is followed by presents which are made to the family afflicted, and this is called *covering the dead*. These presents are made in the name of the village, and sometimes in that of the nation. The allies likewise send presents at the death of considerable persons. But before this, the family of the deceased make a feast in his name, accompanied with games, for which prizes are proposed. There are a sort of jousts or tournaments carried on in this manner: one of their chiefs throws upon the tomb three buttons about a foot in length, a young man, a woman and a girl take each of them one, and those of the same age, sex and condition endeavor to wrest them out of their hands. The persons with whom they remain are reckoned the conquerors. There are likewise races, and sometimes they shoot at a mark; in a word, by a custom established

through all Pagan antiquity, an action wholly melancholy in itself concludes with songs and shouts of victory.

It is true, the family of the deceased take no part in these rejoicings, but on the contrary observe in their cabin after the obsequies are over, a mourning, the laws of which are very severe. They must have their hair cut off, and their faces blacked; they must have their head in an erect posture, wrapped up in a covering, without looking upon any one, making any visits, or eating anything hot; but must deprive themselves of all pleasures, having scarce any clothing on their bodies, and never warming themselves, even in the midst of winter. After this grand mourning they begin another more moderate, which lasts for two or three years longer, but which may yet be mitigated a little; but nothing prescribed is ever dispensed with, without the permission of the cabin, to which the widow and widower belong; and these permissions as well as the conclusion of the mourning are always attended with a feast.

Lastly, they are not at liberty by the laws of widowhood to engage in second nuptials without the consent of those on whom they depend. And should there be no husband found for the widow, she is very little concerned about it, in case she has male children old enough to provide for her support; she may still remain in the state of widowhood without fear of being reduced to want. If she has a mind to marry again, she is at liberty to choose for herself, and the person she marries becomes the father to her former children, enters into all the rights and is subject to all the obligations of the first husband. A husband never weeps for the loss of a wife; tears in the opinion of the Indians being looked upon as unworthy of men, but this does not hold true amongst all the nations.

The women on the contrary bewail their husbands a year, are eternally invoking him and fill the villages with their cries and lamentations, and especially at the rising and setting of the sun, at noon, and in some parts when they go forth to their labor or return from it. Mothers mourn in much the same manner for their children. The chiefs mourn for six months, after which they are free to marry again.

Lastly, the first and oftentimes the only salutation paid to a friend and even to a stranger on his entering their cabins is to bewail the relations they lost since they last saw them. They lay their hand on his head and signify the person they lament, but without naming him. This is entirely founded on nature, and favors nothing of the barbarian; but what I am going to relate to you appears inexcusable in every respect. This is the conduct which these nations observe with regard to all who have died a violent death, even in war and in the service of their country.

They have taken it into their heads that the souls of these persons in the other world have no commerce with the rest, and on this principle they burn them or bury them immediately, and even sometimes before they are quite dead. They never lay them in the com-

mon burying-ground, and allow them no share in the grand ceremony which is repeated every night for years among some nations, and every ten years amongst the Hurons and Iroquois.

This is called the festival of the dead, or of souls. The following is what I have been able to collect, and is the most uniform as well as most remarkable account of this most singular and extraordinary act of religion known amongst the Indians. They begin with agreeing upon the place where the assembly is to be held, afterwards they make choice of a king of the feast, whose business is to take order for everything and to invite the neighboring villages. On the day appointed they assemble and go in procession, two and two to the burial-place; there every one falls to work to uncover the dead bodies, and afterwards they remain some time in silent contemplation of a spectacle, so capable of furnishing the most serious reflections. The women are the first who break this religious silence by raising lamentable cries which still add to the horror with which every spectator is seized.

This first act ended, they take up the carcasses and gather the dry and loose bones, with which they load the persons who are appointed to carry them. They wash such bodies as are not entirely corrupted, take away the putrid flesh with all other filth from them, and wrap them in new robes of beaver skins. Afterwards they return in the same order they came, and when the procession reaches the village, each person deposits his load in his own cabin. During the march the women continue their wailings, and the men wear the same marks of grief as on the day of the death of the person whose remains they are thus carrying. This second act is followed with a feast in each cabin in honor of the dead of the family.

On the following days there are public feasting, which are accompanied as on the day of the interment, with dances, games and combats, for which there are also prizes proposed. From time to time they raise certain cries, which they call the cries of the souls. They make presents to the strangers amongst whom there are sometimes persons who have come a hundred and fifty leagues off, and receive presents again from them. They even make use of these opportunities to treat of their common affairs, as the election of a chief. All passes with a great deal of order, decency and modesty, and every person present appears filled with sentiments proper to the occasion. Everything, even the dances and songs, breathe such a sorrowful air that the heart is penetrated with the most lively sorrow, so that the most indifferent person must be struck at the sight of this spectacle.

After some days have passed, they go in procession to a large council-room built on purpose, where they hang up against the walls the bones and carcasses in the same condition in which they were taken up, and they display the presents destined for the dead. If amongst the rest there happen to be the remains of some chief, his successor gives a grand repast in his name and sings his songs. In several places the dead bodies are carried from canton to canton, where they are always received with great demonstrations of grief

and tenderness, and everywhere presents are made them. Lastly, they carry them to the place where they are to remain for eternity. But I forgot to tell you that all these processions are to be found of instruments, accompanied with the finest voices, and that every person observes an exact cadence in his motion.

This last common place of burial is a great ditch lined with the finest furs and with whatever is most precious. The presents destined for the dead are placed apart, and in proportion as the procession arrives each family places itself on a kind of scaffold erected around the ditch. The moment the dead bodies are deposited, the women begin their cries and lamentations. Afterwards all the spectators go down into the ditch, when every one takes a small quantity of earth which he preserves with the greatest care, from a belief that it brings good luck at play. The dead bodies and bones are placed in proper order, being covered with new furs, over which is a layer of bark, and above all are thrown stones, timber and earth. Every one afterwards retires to his own home, but the women continue to return for several days to the same place to deposit some sagamity by way of food for the departed."

The Indians whose manners and customs Father Charlevoix thus describes were chiefly of the same tribes and families that settled around Fort St. Louis at the suggestion of La Salle, and were governed by Tonti for a score of years. Many references are found to these various tribes, but the earliest definite data concerning them is contained in a map made by a French cartographer named Franquelin in 1684. On Franquelin's map the name and location of several tribes together with the number of warriors of each tribe is given, by which we are advised that the Kilatica numbered 300, the Chaouenon 200, the Ouabona 70, the Oiatenan 500, the Illinois 1200, the Pepikokia 160, the Miami 1300, the Peanghichia 150, the Cheagoumenian 80, the Maramech 150, the Mascoutins Nationdufen Oupacole als Assistageronons 200, the Kikapoos 300. At considerable distance to the south Franquelin locates, also the Matoagami, and still further south the Tocogane. Fort Crevecoeur is shown on the map but none of the Indian tribes are located near it. Some evidence that at that time the Illinois had already removed and were all located at the fort near the rock.

The manner in which the Indian population fluctuated is indicated by the different numbers found by successive explorers. When Father Marquette was in the neighborhood of where Fort St. Louis was built in 1673, he found 74 cabins. When Father Hennepin was there in 1679 he counted 469 cabins and stated that each cabin contained four or five fires and each fire supplied one or two families. At the beginning of 1684, Father Zenobe Membre was there as we have seen, and stated that this village was composed of seven or eight

thousand souls. La Salle's confederation has been stated to have contained 20,000 Indian inhabitants. That progress had been made amongst the Indians is indicated by a report which Reverend Jacques de Lamberville made of "Canadian Affairs in 1696" written to his brother. The part of the report referring to Illinois is as follows:

"Father Gravier, who during (has spent) six years among the Illinois, has come to Quebec on business connected with his mission. He says that he is delighted with the fervor of that infant Church, wherein he counts over 2,000 persons whom he has baptized, and who live in the simplicity and piety of the first Christians. While speaking of this time, he was wholly penetrated with the thought of God, and was delighted with the great success God had granted to his labors; and his chief regret is that he has no missionaries to help him in extending the Kingdom of Jesus Christ among the surrounding nations, who speak the same language, and beg us to go to instruct them."³

Father Cravier himself wrote a letter to Bishop Laval dated September 17, 1699, which throws some light upon the missionary situation as concerns the Indians. The Canadian governor, Frontenac, was believed by the Jesuits to be their consistent enemy, and had driven Father Pinet away from his mission of the Angel Guardian at Chicago. Father Gravier expresses the hope that the Bishop will protect the missionaries and says:

"We shall also be safe from the threats of Monsieur the Count de Frontenac to drive us from our Missions, as he has already done from that of *l'Ange gardien* of the Miamis at Chicago, the charge of which Monseigneur of Quebec had confided to me, by his patents giving me the care of the Missions to the Illinois, Miamis and Scioux, and confirming the powers that Your Grace had conferred upon Father Marquette and Father d'Alloues, who were the first missionaries to those southern nations. If Monsieur the Count de Frontenac had learned that in our missions we had done anything unworthy of our ministry, he could easily have applied to Monseigneur the Bishop or to his Grand Vicar. But he could not otherwise than by violence drive us from our Mission of Chicago, and we hope that Monseigneur of Quebec will not suffer such violence which is so prejudicial to his authority. And if Your Grace will be good enough to speak to him of it, he will reinstate and confirm Father Pinet of his Mission that he may there continue his duties which he has so auspiciously begun."⁴

In this same letter Father Gravier makes reference to a ciborium intended for the Illinois missions made from the silver plate in possession of the Bishop and a monstrance which the Bishop had promised for Father Gravier that are possibly somewhere in existence. Some

³ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*.

⁴ *Ib.*

of the relics of these early days have been located, but these earliest gifts to the Illinois missions would be a gratifying find.

One of the very latest accounts we have of the Indians in their old location is from the pen of Father Julien Bineteau written "From the Illinois country (January) 1699." Father Bineteau is known to have been in Chicago and at Fort St. Louis and also at Fort Crevecoeur about this time. This letter is so interesting as to justify reproduction in full:

My Reverend Father,

Pax Christi.

God continues to be served here, in spite of the opposition of the devil, who raises up people bitterly hostile to Christianity. We call them Jugglers here. In public they perform a hundred mummeries full of impiety, and talk to the skins of animals and to dead birds as divinities. They claim that medicinal herbs are gods from whom they have life and that no others must be worshiped. Every day they sing songs in honor of their little manitous as they call them. They inveigh against our religious and against the missionaries. "Where is the God," they say, "of whom the black gowns tell us? What does he give us to induce us to hear them? Where are the feasts they give us?" For, my reverend Father, it is by means of feasts that the demon's party is maintained here.

Although people of this kind seem very averse to embracing Christianity, many of them nevertheless respect or fear our mysteries, and are polite to the missionaries. Indeed, there are few whose children do not come to the chapel. Many send them thither; and, whatever may be the parents' motive, there is reason to hope that these young plants will one day bear fruit, and that the party of evil will insensibly disappear. You will be surprised to learn that several of these jugglers, when they fall ill, willingly have recourse to the missionary, and there are but a few who do not listen to him, and who do not admit that there is a Great Spirit, the maker of all things, who alone must be adored. Recently one of the chief men asked to be instructed, after having long resisted. Afterward, when he fell ill, and was near his end, he had no rest until he at last received holy baptism, while exhorting all his children to embrace our religion.

The young men are no less opposed to the progress of Christianity than are the jugglers. Among them are monsters of impurity, who abandon themselves without shame to the most infamous actions; this is the reason we find hardly a single young man upon whom we can rely for the exercise of religion. The middle-aged men and the old men alone have any constancy.

As a compensation, the women and girls have strong inclinations to virtue—although, according to their customs, they are the slaves of their brothers, who compel them to marry whomsoever they choose, even men already married to another wife. Nevertheless, there are some among them who constantly resist, and who prefer to expose

themselves to ill treatment rather than to do anything contrary to the precepts of Christianity regarding marriage.

There are many households where husband and wife live in great fervor, without heeding what the jugglers or the young libertines may say. They are always the first at church; they punctually attend the public prayers, and courageously support our side. Some of them assemble in the cabin of one of the notable men of the village, and there the whole conversation is about matters of piety, the catechism, the prayers which they recite to one another, or, finally, the hymns. As the children are persecuted on account of prayer, I know good Christians who urge them to go to their homes, and who offer to feed them and to share what they have with them, as if they were their own children.

There are also women married to some of our Frenchmen, who would be a good example to the best regulated households in France. Some of those who are married to savages manifest extraordinary care in maintaining piety in their families; they themselves teach their children; they exhort their husband to be virtuous; they ask them at night whether they have said their prayers; they urge them to approach the sacraments frequently; and, for their own part, they confess at least every week and often receive communion.

After having told you about the mission, I shall say a few words, my Reverend Father, about the missionaries. Father Gabriel Marest is doing wonders; he has the finest talent in the world for these missions; he has learned the language in four or five months, so that he can now give lessons to those who have been here a long time; he can endure an incredible amount of fatigue, and his zeal leads him to look upon the most difficult things as trifles. "I will never rest," he says, "as long as I live. I will never believe that I have done enough."

We have three chapels and we teach the catechism at four places. Kikapous as well as Illinois are lodged around us in order to cultivate corn in the neighborhood of our chief village. They have a share in God's word. Thus we both have no lack of occupation. From morning until night our house is never empty of people who come to be instructed and to confess. We have had to make our chapels larger than they were. Dear Father Marest is somewhat too zealous; he works excessively during the day, and he sits up at night to improve himself in the language; he would like to learn the whole vocabulary in five or six months. He lives only on a little boiled corn, with which he sometimes mixes a few small beans; and he eats a watermelon, which supplies his beverage. There is another missionary sixty leagues from here, who comes to see us every winter. He comes from the Province of Guyenne, and his name is Father Pinet. If you knew him I would tell you more about him. He has had the happiness of sending to heaven the soul of the famous Chief Peouris and those of several jugglers; and he has attracted to our chapel various persons who, through their fervor, are patterns to the village. I have now to speak to you solely of what concerns myself.

I am at present spending the winter with a portion of our savages

who are scattered about. I have recently been with the Tamarois to visit a band of them on the bank of one of the largest rivers in the world, which for this reason we call the Mississippi, or "the great river." More than seven hundred leagues of it have been found to be navigable, without discovering its source. I am to return to the Illinois of Tamaroa in the spring. There is a very great difference between this climate and that of Quebec, where the cold lasts a long time, and a great quantity of snow falls; whereas here, as a rule, the snow remains but a very short time. We have hardly felt the cold during the whole of this month of January. Vines climb all around the trees, up to their tops; the grapes are wild, and are not nearly as good as those of France. There are an infinite number of nut and plum trees of various kinds; also some small apples. We find here two other kinds of fruit tree that are not known in France. They are *assimines* and *piakimines*. Their fruit is good. We in this country go without all our other delicious fruits of France. Game is plentiful, such as ducks, geese, bustards, swans, cranes and turkeys. Ox, bear and deer furnish the substantial meats that we eat in the game country. The ox of these regions is of a blackish brown, and is the animal called "buffalo" in Europe; it has a large hump on the nape of the neck and very thick hair like the wool of our sheep in France; this makes good bed-coverings. We also see other animals, such as wildcats, lynxes and tree-rats; the female of the latter carries her young in a sort of pouch under her belly.

The life led by our savages is as follows. They start on their hunt about the end of September. All walk, or proceed in *pirouges* to the wintering places. From there the most active men, women and girls go into the interior to seek the ox; this animal is dangerous and boldly rushes at him who attacks it, especially when wounded; it snorts furiously and its glaring eyes are terrible. When the savages have killed one, they remove the flesh, especially that from the ribs, and divide it in halves. This meat is afterward spread for some time on a wooden grating three or four feet high, under which a bright fire is kept up; it is then rolled and dried in this manner. It keeps for a long time without becoming tainted. These pieces are called the *tenderloins*, and are in great demand in the village when the hunters return. This hunt ends about Christmas. The savages come back loaded with these *tenderloins*, and it is wonderful what heavy loads the men and women carry on the march. The remainder of the time until the month of March is passed in the winter quarters, where the women are continually occupied. The men go, from time to time, to hunt for deer or bear, and spend the rest of the time in gaming, dancing, singing *partisque fruuntur*. They are all gentlemen, the sole occupation of whose lives consists in hunting, in fishing and in war.

The life that the savages lead in the village is about the same as that in their winter quarters. The women alone till the soil and sow. They do this carefully, and consequently the corn is very fine and abundant. The idleness of the men is the cause of all their debauchery and of their aversion to the Christian religion. Balls are held here as in France. While in a cabin the dancers move about to the

cadence of a kind of drum, you hear, on the other hand, some old woman singing.

I am almost forgetting to tell you of our garden. One of their finest ornaments is what we call the watermelon, which grows to an extraordinary size. It has a very sweet taste and differs from our melons because it does not turn yellow. These melons are eaten without salt, and are harmless even when eaten in quantities.

The above, my Reverend Father, is a short description of the climate and of the customs of our Illinois. The young children always give us great hopes for the future. They are wonderfully eager to be instructed, and their desire to obtain a needle, a red bead, or a small cross or medal makes them try to give correct answers, and they learn a great deal in a short time.

I remain, my Reverend Father,

Your very humble and very obedient servant in our Lord,

JULIEN BINNETEAU, of the Society of Jesus.⁵

We have a still later account by one of the greatest of all the Illinois missionaries, Reverend Gabriel Marest, S. J., which is as follows:

From the Illinois Country in New France,
April 29, 1699.

My Reverend Father:

I have been nearly a year in this mission. The country here is very different from that about Quebec. The climate is warm, the soil fertile, the people affable and gentle of disposition. The state of religion here is as follows: but few embrace Christianity among the men, especially the young men, who live in excessive licentiousness, which renders them utterly averse to virtue and incapable of listening to their missionaries. Pray God, my Reverend Father, to cast a merciful eye upon them, and to withdraw them from so deplorable a condition. The women and girls, on the contrary, are well disposed to receive baptism; they are very constant and firm, when once they have received it; they are fervent in prayer, and ask only to be instructed; they frequently approach the sacraments; and, finally, are capable of the highest sanctity. The number of those who embrace our holy religion increases daily to a marked degree, so much so that we have recently been obliged to build a new church, as the first was too small; and, judging from the manner in which this one is filled every day, I think we shall shortly need a third one. Praise be to God who is pleased to shower his blessings here in such profusion.

As the village is large, being nearly half a league in length, our fervent Christians have lately erected a chapel at each end, so that instruction may be more easily given. They meet in these, and I go there regularly to teach them the catechism.

The children give us bright hopes for the future. It is impossible to believe how eager they are to be instructed. When they

return to their cabins, they tell their fathers, who are often still infidels, what they have learned. Above all, they know how to laugh at the jugglers' ridiculous ceremonies; and we see that jugglery is, in consequence, gradually disappearing.

Nearly ten years ago Father Gravier laid the foundations of this new christendom, which he fostered with care and trouble beyond belief. Reverend Father Binneteau has succeeded to his labors, and to the fruits thereof. In fact, we may say that this is one of our finest missions. In truth, it is impossible to imagine in France the good that can be done among these populous nations. It must also be confessed that, as a rule, we have occupation beyond our strength; and we need to be sustained by God from on high, not to succumb beneath the burden of our labors. Here is a description of the life we lead:

Every day before sunrise, we say Mass for the convenience of our Christians, who go from it to their work. The savages chant the prayers or recite them together during Mass, after which we disperse in different directions to teach the children the catechism, and then we have to visit the sick. On our return we always find several savages who come to consult us on various matters. In the afternoon, three times a week, there is general catechism for all the people. From that, we go through the cabins to strengthen the Christians, and endeavor to win some idolater. These visits are very useful, and I notice that the missionary never fails to effect some fresh conquest, or to bring back some strayed sheep. The visits are paid one day in one quarter, and on the morrow in another; for it is absolutely impossible to go through all the cabins in one day.

When we return to the house, we find it filled with our fervent Christians who come to receive instruction or to confess. It is generally at this time that I explain the pictures of the Old and of the New Testament. Pictures of this kind produce an impression upon the savage's mind, and greatly assist him in remembering what we tell him. Then the public prayers are said, which all attend, and they are followed by a half hour's instruction. After leaving the church, many wish to speak to us in private, and the night is frequently far advanced before we can satisfy every one. This is what we do every day. Saturdays and Sundays are completely occupied in hearing confessions. Thus a missionary is free only at night; and even that time is often taken to teach some of the people to sing the hymns.

During the winter we separate, going to various places where the savages pass that season. Last winter I had for my share a village of considerable size, three leagues from here; after saying Mass there on Sundays I came to say it again here at the fort for our French.

Three gentlemen of the Quebec Seminary sent by Monseigneur the Bishop to establish missions on the Mississippi, passed through here. We received them as well as we were able, lodging them in

our own house, and sharing with them what we could possess amid a scarcity as great as that which prevailed in the village throughout the year. On leaving, we also induced them to take seven sacks of corn that we had left, concealing our poverty from them so that they might have less objection to receiving what we offered them. In another of our missions, we also fed two of their people during the whole of last winter.

As these gentlemen did not know the Illinois language, we gave them a collection of prayers, and a translation of the catechism, with the notes that we have been able to make upon that language, in order to help them to learn it. In fine, we showed them every possible attention and kindness.

Entreat God, my Reverend Father, to grant me the grace of being faithful to Him, and of fulfilling here His designs regarding me for the advancement of His glory, and the entire conversion of these people, whom He has been pleased to confide to our care.

I remain, my Reverend Father,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

GABRIEL MAREST, S. J.*

The very next year the confederation on the upper Illinois dissolved, various tribes separating, in some cases losing their identity. The Kaskaskia and some other of the Illinois tribe left the territory with Father Marest and located as will be seen at the new Kaskaskia near the Mississippi.

The Peoria and some others remained near Peoria Lake while others rowed up and down the river, stopping sometimes at the Rock and again at Peoria.

* Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXV., pp. 79-85.

THE FIRST AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONERS

BY FATHER MARIAN HABIG, O. F. M.

Until our own day, America was itself a missionary country; and hence it was not able to send many missionaries to foreign lands in the past. But in recent years a lively interest in foreign missions has been awakened in our midst; and to-day there are numerous Catholic Americans, priests and brothers and sisters, laboring in foreign lands as missionaries. But who were the first missionaries to go from our midst into foreign fields? Who were the first American foreign missionaries? This question we can not answer without making some distinctions.

BISHOP ZUMARRAGA AND HIS COMPANIONS

If we include Central America when speaking of American missionaries, we must concede to Mexico the distinction of making the first attempt to send missionaries from American shores to a foreign pagan land. It is a remarkable fact, that this attempt was likewise the first on the part of missionaries in general to re-enter China during the modern period of its history. (We purposely use the term "re-enter," because there were flourishing Franciscan missions in China during the fourteenth century.) This first attempt was made by the first bishop of Mexico, Fr. John Zumarraga, O. F. M., and two of his priests, one a Dominican and the other a Franciscan.

It was as early as 1545, that Zumarraga turned his eyes toward pagan China. At this time, the Faith had been planted almost in entire New Spain, as Mexico was then called; and the thought that in the immeasurable land across the Pacific, where pagan souls were countless, there should not be a single missionary, filled his great soul with intense grief. Although a man of seventy years, he formed the heroic resolve to renounce his see in Mexico, and to labor as a plain missionary in China and if possible also to win the martyr's crown. Fr. Bartholomew Las Casas, O. P., was going to Europe just at this time; and he promised to obtain the Pope's approval for Zumarraga's plans. But Las Casas did not reach Rome; nor did he write for the permission, sought by Zumarraga. Nothing daunted, the aged bishop asked his king, Philip II, to employ the Spanish representative at Rome in his behalf. But the Pope refused to give the desired consent. The humble bishop now yielded and continued cheerfully to

labor for his flock in New Spain. The following year he was made an archbishop, the first of Mexico, though he strove hard to escape the honor. Two years later, 1548, he died a holy death.⁽¹⁾

No more successful in their endeavors to reach China were the companions of Zumarraga. The bishop's confessor, Fr. Dominic Betanzos, a Dominican, had already received the consent of his superiors and was on the point of setting sail for China, when a Provincial Chapter withdrew the obedience which had been granted.⁽²⁾

At the bottom of this movement toward China seems to have been Fr. Martin of Valencia, O. F. M., one of the "Twelve Apostles of Mexico," and their superior. These twelve Franciscans had come to Mexico in 1524; and since that year (it was now 1545), with the aid of some others, among them especially Bishop Zumarraga and Brother Peter of Ghent, O. F. M., they had changed pagan Mexico into a Catholic country. At any rate he, too, wanted to go to China. But after he made two attempts to embark and failed both times, he gave up the plan and devoted his last years to continued mission work among the Indians of Mexico.⁽³⁾

St. Francis Xavier, S. J., made the next attempt; but while waiting for an opportunity to cross over to the mainland, he died, 1552, on Sancian Island, off the coast of southern China. The first missionary who succeeded in entering China during the modern period was Fr. Melchior Nunez Barreto, S. J., who twice stayed at Canton for a month in 1555. The following year, the Dominican Fr. Gaspar da Cruz (Jasper of the Cross) also remained in Kwangtung Province for a short time; but when he was discovered, he was maltreated and expelled. The same lot befell the Augustinian, Fr. Martin of Rada, when he came to Fukien a few years later.

JOHN LEDYARD

The first one in the United States who tried to interest his compatriots in China was John Ledyard, a Protestant of Connecticut. In 1772 he entered Dartmouth College in New Hampshire with the intention of preparing himself for missionary work among the Indians. Later he abandoned this plan and became a sailor. He accompanied Captain Cook on his third voyage round the world, 1776-1780. It was probably on this voyage that he saw how furs bought on the Pacific coast for a sixpence were sold in Canton, China, for a hundred dollars. This showed him the possibilities of American trade with China. When he came back to New England, he tried to in-

duce American merchants to trade with Asia. His efforts were not without fruit; for on February 22, 1784, the first American vessel bound for China left New York. Fifteen months later it returned with a profit of \$38,000. From this time on, American interest in China grew. And in 1850, as many as eighty-eight Protestant missionaries from the United States had entered the Chinese Empire. The first Catholic missionaries to China from our country were not to leave until another three decades had passed.⁽⁴⁾

BISHOP BARRON AND HIS COMPANIONS

The first Catholic Americans of the United States who entered a foreign mission field were two secular priests and a layman who went to Africa in 1841. This came to pass in the following manner. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the American Colonization Society, wishing to establish a place in Africa whither freed blacks of the United States might return, sent out its first colony in 1820. This colony became permanently established at Cape Mesurado on the western coast of Africa. Eventually it developed into the Republic of Liberia, 1847. A number of the first American colonists were Catholic negroes from Maryland and the neighboring states. To their spiritual needs Bishop England of Charleston, S. C., called the attention of the American bishops in 1833 at the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore. The Council, however, confided the Liberian mission to the Jesuits, which under the circumstances was virtually postponing to take action on this question.⁽⁵⁾ Finally the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in 1840 asked the bishops of Philadelphia and New York for men to undertake this work. In answer to this call three men volunteered their services. These were the Very Reverend Doctor Edward Barron of Philadelphia, Reverend John Kelly of New York, and Denis Pindar, a lay catechist from Baltimore.

Dr. Barron was born, 1802, in Ireland. He finished his studies in Rome and was ordained there in 1826. For some years he then labored in his native country. In 1837 he came to Philadelphia; and soon after, he was made Vicar General of the diocese, President of the seminary and Rector of St. Mary's Church. It was while holding these important offices that he offered himself for the Liberian mission.

With his two companions he set sail from Baltimore on December 2, 1841. On February 10, 1842, he said the first Holy Mass at Cape Palmas, Africa. After laboring manfully for six months, Dr. Barron

realized that the number of missionaries was insufficient. While his two companions continued the work, he therefore returned to the United States and thence journeyed to Rome, where he made his report to the Holy Father. The outcome was that the two Guineas were erected into a Vicariate Apostolic, November 1, 1842. Dr. Barron was appointed its Vicar Apostolic and was consecrated Titular Bishop of Constantia by Cardinal Franson at Rome on January 22, 1843. With seven priests of the Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, newly founded by the Venerable Father Libermann for the evangelization of the black race and subsequently united with the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, Bishop Barron set sail for Africa from France in September, 1843, and arrived at Cape Palmas at the end of November. Within a year five or six of the new priests died of fever. Also Denis Pindar, the American catechist, fell a victim to the dread disease, January 1, 1844. This was a hard trial for Bishop Barron. Still he and Father Kelly were able to hold out for two years. Then they asked leave of Rome to return to the United States, since they could not withstand the climate any longer.

In passing we may mention that the Congregation of the Holy Ghost was also forced by the climate to give up the Liberian mission. Then the Fathers of Montfort (Company of Mary) took charge of it. Next it was visited by missionaries from Sierra Leone. Finally it was entrusted to Priests of the African Missions (Lyons).

After Bishop Barron returned to the United States from Africa, he labored for the salvation of souls in Philadelphia, St. Louis and Florida. He died while working among yellow fever victims in Savannah, Georgia. In the Catholic cemetery of this city, one may see his tomb, bearing the following simple inscription:

EDWARD BARRON
BISHOP OF AFRICA
WHERE HE LOST HIS HEALTH
RETURNED TO AMERICA AND
DIED IN SAVANNAH DURING
THE EPIDEMIC
SEPTEMBER 12, 1854

Father Kelly, after his return from Africa, held a pastorate for a long time and died at Jersey City, New Jersey, April 28, 1866. While in Africa he wrote down some memoirs which contain many

botanical data of scientific value. These notes are now in the hands of Archbishop Le Roy, C. S. Sp.⁽⁶⁾

FATHER REMY GOETTE, O. F. M.

The first Catholic missionary to go to China from the United States was Fr. Remy Goette, O. F. M. He had come to this country as an exile from Germany during the "Kulturkampf." It was in May, 1875, that he was forced to leave his native land in the company of other Franciscans, among them two of his own brothers, Fr. Athanasius and Fr. John Capistran, who were still novices. Fr. Remy had completed his novitiate year in the Franciscan friary at Warendorf before he left Germany.⁽⁷⁾

In the Middle West of our country he made his theological studies. The Rt. Rev. Caspar H. Borgess, Bishop of Detroit, conferred on him the Tonsure, the Minor Orders and the Subdiaconate on September 19, 1878, in old St. Anthony's Church, St. Louis, Mo. In the Church of St. John the Evangelist of the same city, the Rt. Rev. Patrick Ryan, Auxiliary Bishop of St. Louis, promoted him to the Diaconate on June 22, 1879, and ordained him to the Holy Priesthood the following year on May 16. A companion of Fr. Remy in all these ordinations was Fr. Francis Xavier Engbring, O. F. M., of whom we shall speak later.

In 1881, the year following his ordination to the Priesthood, Fr. Remy departed for the Chinese missions as the first Catholic priest to go thither from the United States. But we refrain from calling him the first "American," because he did not relinquish his membership in the Franciscan Province of the Holy Cross in Germany, which revived after the "Kulturkampf." He did not, therefore, join the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart in the United States, but only completed his studies in this country.

Some years after he left for China, he appears to have returned to Germany for some time; for, Fr. John Ricci, O. F. M., records him as coming anew to China in 1888 as a missionary for northwest Hupeh.⁽⁸⁾ Later he was transferred to the mission field of his Province in northern Shantung; and here he died in his sixty-fourth year on July 7, 1920.

BISHOP ATHANASIUS GOETTE, O. F. M.

Unlike his brother, Fr. Athanasius Goette became a member of the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart, which had its headquarters in St. Louis till August, 1927, and now has them in Chicago.

After he came to this country, he finished his novitiate at Teutopolis, Illinois, and there pronounced his simple vows, October 16, 1875. He was then sent to the Franciscan House of Studies at Quincy, Illinois, where also he made his solemn profession, October 23, 1878. In St. Louis he completed his studies and was ordained priest, June 5, 1881, in St. John's Church by Bishop Ryan, Auxiliary of Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis.

Soon after, he applied for the Chinese missions to the Minister General, Most Rev. Bernardine dal Vago, O. F. M.; and in May, 1882, he received his obedience for China. At the end of the same year he arrived in that country. His brother, Fr. Remy, had arrived in the preceding year. Fr. Athanasius was destined for Shensi, far in the interior, and reached Si-ngan-fu, the capital of this province, January 6, 1883.

In this province he labored as an ordinary missionary for over twenty years. Twice he returned to the United States in behalf of his missions, once in 1894 and again in 1905. The second time he first passed through Germany; and while he was there, on November 2, 1905, he received from Rome a bull appointing him Vicar Apostolic of North Shensi. In the cathedral of Paderborn, where he had been baptized, he was now (November 30) consecrated Titular Bishop of Lampa. From Germany the new bishop came to the United States, and spent February 3-6, 1906, with his confrères in St. Louis, Mo.

Having returned to China, he labored zealously for his flock, built a hospital, introduced schools, and won the hearts of all who came into contact with him. In the spring of 1908 he was host to a regional synod which was attended by eight bishops of China. Soon after, a typhoid epidemic broke out in his territory; and it was while ministering to its victims, that he himself took sick. He died a martyr of charity at Si-ngan-fu on March 29, 1908. Bishop Goette is justly called the first member of the American clergy to go to the Chinese missions and the first American bishop in China.⁽⁹⁾

In 1884 Fr. Athanasius Goette had been followed to China by his younger brother, Fr. John Capistran, and Fr. Edmund Roediger, both of whom were sent to Hunan province. Like Fr. Athanasius they were born in Germany, but became members of the American Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart.⁽¹⁰⁾

FR. FRANCIS XAVIER ENGBRING, O. F. M.

The first *native* American, however, who entered the Chinese mission field was Fr. Francis Xavier Engbring, O. F. M., likewise of the

Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart. He was born at Effingham, Illinois, on June 20, 1857, and received the name of Henry at Baptism. January 14, 1874, he entered the Franciscan novitiate at Teutopolis, a few miles east of Effingham, and received St. Francis Xavier as his patron saint in religion. The following year, on January 16, he pronounced his simple vows. He was admitted to solemn profession, March 5, 1878. As was mentioned above, he received the various Holy Orders at the same time that Fr. Remy Goette received them, being ordained priest on May 16, 1880. His first appointment was that of professor of philosophy in the Franciscan House of Studies at Quincy, Illinois. After two years he was made lector of theology in the Franciscan seminary at St. Anthony's Friary, St. Louis, Mo. This post he held till 1888, when he left for China.

In August of that year he sailed from San Francisco to Yokohama. After a week's stay in this Japanese city, he arrived in Shanghai, China, on September 18, and thence proceeded to Hankow in the central province of Hupeh. About the middle of November he finally reached his destination, Henschowfu, Hunan, which lies farther to the south. First he was sent to the nearby Christian village of Peshang, there to learn the Chinese language. But already a month later (January, 1889), he was put in charge of the mission's seminary at Tsaitung.

Subsequently he was transferred to the seminary at Wuchang, capital of Hupeh province. While here he saved the city from reprisals on the part of the Europeans. This occurred after the riots of 1891. In eastern Hupeh his overtures also forestalled a great persecution of the Christians. On September 1, 1892, he was appointed dean in northern Hupeh; and at last he was able to devote himself to actual missionary work.

His last post was that of procurator apostolic at Hankow, which city lies opposite Wuchang on the Yangtze river. At Hankow he died on July 31, 1895, after a brief illness, brought on by excessive heat. Some years before, however, his naturally robust constitution had already been broken down by hard work, exposure and lack of leisure to care for his health. Father Engbring's body was interred in the cemetery outside Wuchang on the very spot where Blessed Francis Clet, C. M., was martyred in 1819, and beside the former sepulchre of Blessed Gabriel Perboyre, C. M., who was martyred in 1840.⁽¹¹⁾

FATHER WILLIAM L. HORNSBY, S. J.

Some years ago a Jesuit Father expressed it as his opinion to the writer, that Father William Hornsby, S. J., now professor at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Illinois, was the first native American Catholic to labor as a missionary in China. Upon inquiry, Father Hornsby has kindly informed the writer as follows. While still a scholastic, Father Hornsby went to Macao, southern China, in 1892. He was ordained a priest at Shanghai in 1897. Before and after his ordination, his principal work was that of a teacher in the seminary of Macao. But to some extent he also exercised the sacred ministry among the Chinese both in Macao and in the mission of Kiangnan. The mission of Kiangnan or Nanking, a vicariate apostolic, included the two present provinces of Nganwei and Kiangsu. Shanghai is situated in the latter. In 1904 Father Hornsby returned to the United States. A native American like Father Engbring, he has the distinction of being the first American to be ordained a priest in China. Father Engbring, however, preceded him to China by about four years.

FATHER NICHOLAS WALTER, S. M.

As Father Engbring was the first native American priest to go to China, so Father Nicholas Walter, S. M., is the first American priest who went to Japan. He was born in Indiana, 1861. Since 1887, a year before Father Engbring went to China, he has labored for Catholic schools in Japan. At the present writing he is still at work, the oldest American missionary (Catholic priest) in the Far East. He is at present chaplain of the Star of the Sea School, Nagasaki, Japan.⁽¹²⁾

BROTHER JOSEPH DUTTON

A place among the first American foreign missionaries must be accorded also to Brother Joseph Dutton, who for the past forty years has labored and is still laboring among the lepers of Molokai. Ira B. Dutton (the later Brother Joseph) was born of Protestant parents at Stove in Vermont on April 27, 1843. When he was two or three years old, his parents moved to Janesville, Wisconsin. At the age of eighteen, on September 9, 1861, he enlisted in the Union Army and served with honors to the end of the Civil War (1861-1865), even attaining to the rank of captain. After the close of the war he helped bury the bodies of those who had fallen in the conflict. His father

died in 1879. Four years later (1883) Ira was converted to the Catholic Faith, and at Baptism took the name of Joseph. The following year his mother followed him into the true Fold.

After Joseph Dutton had become a Redemptorist Brother in New Orleans, he obtained the permission of his superiors to go to Molokai, in order to spend the rest of his life in the service of the lepers. This occurred in 1887, two years before the death of Father Damien. The leper settlement of Molokai in the Hawaiian Islands is on a little stretch of land, situated at the base of a great mountain, and jutting out into the sea in a southerly direction. The whole forms Kalawao county. Kalawao is also the name of a village on one side of the little peninsula. Two miles away on the other side is Kalau-papa, a newer part. The former is Brother Dutton's home and the scene of his labors. Though he himself is no leper and is not bound by any restrictions, it is said that for the past thirty-five years he has never been more than a mile from his charges. The pension which was due to him as a Civil War veteran, he refused to accept for himself but asked that it be given to a poor school in Memphis, of whose needs he had learned.⁽¹³⁾

AMERICAN SISTERS IN MOLOKAI

Invited by Father Damien Deveuster, the Franciscan Sisters of Syracuse, New York, entered the Hawaiian Islands in 1883. Soon after Brother Dutton began to work at Kalawao, three of these Sisters took charge of the Home in the same place. Later this Home was placed in charge of the Piepus Brothers, while the Syracuse Sisters were given the care of the leper girls and women at Kalaupapa. And, like Brother Dutton, one member of the original band, Sister Crescentia, now over eighty years old, is still at work and has never left the leper colony since her arrival forty years ago. These Sisters appear to be the first American Sisters who went to a foreign mission field.⁽¹⁴⁾

BISHOP JAMES E. WALSH, O. F. M.

Bishop Athanasius Goette, O. F. M., has been mentioned above as the first American missionary and bishop in China. But since he was born in Germany, the first *native* American missionary in China was Fr. Francis Xavier Engbring, O. F. M. Similarly the first *native* American bishop in China is Bishop James Edward Walsh of Maryknoll. He was born, 1891, in Cumberland, Maryland. In the autumn of 1911, he entered the seminary of the Catholic Foreign Mission

Society of America as one of its six pioneer students. After his ordination to the Holy Priesthood at Maryknoll, New York, he was appointed director of the Maryknoll Preparatory College at Clark's Summit, Pennsylvania. In the fall of 1918 Father Walsh and three others comprised the pioneer group which left Maryknoll Seminary for Yeungkong, southern China, the Society's first mission. In 1924 he was made Prefect Apostolic of Kongmoon. This Prefecture was erected into a Vicariate Apostolic in the earlier part of 1927, and Monsignor Walsh became its first Vicar Apostolic and received episcopal consecration.

AMERICAN MISSION NURSES

The first Catholic lay-woman who went to a foreign mission from our country as a medical missionary is Miss Mary Hubrich, a Franciscan Secular Tertiary of Joliet, Illinois. Born in Germany, she spent some years in Hungary and at Rome, and then came to the United States. After having taken several courses in nursing with success, both abroad and in the States, she offered her services to the mission of Wuchang in central China, which had been entrusted to American Franciscans in 1922. She went to this mission in March, 1924. During the siege of Wuchang she remained at her post; and at present she is still doing excellent work.⁽¹⁵⁾

The first *native* American lay-women, however, who departed for a foreign mission as Catholic medical missionaries are the four nurses who went to India in the fall of 1924. At present they are in Akyab, Burma. Subsequently the Society of Catholic Medical Missionaries was founded at Washington, D. C. The first missionary sent out by this society is Dr. Joanna Lyons, who left New York, September 25, 1926, for Rawal Pindi in the extreme northwest of India. Here is St. Catherine's Hospital for women and children, conducted by the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Mary. While working in this hospital, she was also to supervise the building of her society's first hospital in India.⁽¹⁶⁾

FR. JOSEPH VILLA, O. F. M.

Here we might mention also an extraordinary Spanish missionary, Fr. Joseph Villa, O. F. M., who labored over a decade among the Indians in South America and later continued his mission labors among the Chinese. He toiled amid great hardships in South America from 1868 to 1881. Then he was sent back to Lisbon a sick and

almost dying man. But he regained his health in Europe, and then went to China where he worked as a missionary till his death.⁽¹⁷⁾

[Who were our first foreign missionaries? For the past few years the writer has tried to find a suitable answer to this question; and the present sketch is the result. He will be glad to see it supplemented, should there be anyone who can give us any further information on this subject. Surely, the memory of those who were and are our pioneer missionaries in far lands deserves to be cherished; and their example is an inspiration not only to those who are following in their footsteps, but also to all those who take an active interest in American foreign mission work.]

NOTES

1. Schwethelm, O. F. M., Fr. Hermann: *Der Franziskaner Joannes von Zumarraga*, Volume XVIII of the series "Aus Allen Zonen" (Treves, 1913), p. 140.
2. Ibid., p. 141.
3. Maas, O. F. M., Dr. Otto: *Die Wiedereroeffnung der Franziskanermission in China in der Neuzeit* (Muenster i. W., 1926), pp. 23 & 24.
4. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 665; *Americana*, Vol. IX; the particulars about China in the story of John Ledyard, the writer has learned from the Maryknoll lecture on the Vatican Exposition.
5. Guilday, Dr. Peter: *The Life and Times of John England* (New York, 1927), p. 276.
6. Meehan, Thomas F.: *Liberia in Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, pp. 216 & 217; Griffin, C. S. Sp., Joseph A.: *The First American Foreign Missionaries in The Paraclete*, Vol. XV (Cornwells Heights, Pa., 1927), pp. 520-524.
7. Hakedorn, O. F. M., Fr. Eugene: *The Expulsion of the Franciscans from Prussia and Their Coming to the United States in the Summer of 1875 in Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, No. I (July, 1925), pp. 66 ff.
8. Ricci, O. F. M., Fr. John: *Chronologia Missionum Fratrum Minorum in Sinis Finitimisque Regnis in Acta Ordinis Minorum*, Vol. 44 (Quarachi, 1925), p. 113.
9. *Catholic Missions* (New York), December, 1925, p. 290; *Franciscans in China* (Wuchang), 1923, pp. 170-2, 192-4, 208-211.
10. An autobiographical sketch of Fr. Edmund Roediger, O. F. M., has appeared in *Franciscan Herald*, Vol. XV (Chicago, 1927), pp. 296-8.
11. A series of beautiful letters written by Fr. Engbring to his kinsfolk will be found in *Franciscan Herald*, Vol. XV, pp. 104-7, 137-8, 153-5, 200-2, 248-9.
12. *America* (New York), Vol. 38, No. 6 (Nov. 19, 1927), p. 144; two short articles from the pen of Fr. Walter appeared in *The Shield* (Cincinnati), Jan. & Dec. 1927.
13. A good biography of Brother Dutton, written by a Sister of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Francis, Wisconsin, was printed in *Our Sunday Visitor* (Huntington, Indiana), Vol. XVI (1927); it commenced in the number for August 7, and continued in successive numbers for several months. Cf. also Herger, A. B., Benjamin C.: *Christ's Lepers in St. Bonaventure's Seminary Year Book* for 1927 (St. Bonaventure, New York).

14. *Franciscan Herald*, Vol. XV (1927), p. 336; *Herger*, loc. cit. A certain Sister Annuntiata from the Archdiocese of Boston, we are told, was one of the first Sisters in the missions of Uganda, Africa; her picture may be found in *The Shield*, Dec. 1926, p. 11.
15. A short sketch of Miss Hubrich's life appeared in the *Franciscan Herald*, Vol. XII (1924), p. 160.
16. *The Bengalese* (Washington, D. C.) August, 1925, p. 1, and November, 1926, p. 13; *The Far East* (St. Columbans, Neb.) Dec. 1926, p. 276.
17. In Volume II and III of *Franciscan Herald* there is a good translation of this missionary's very interesting Latin account of his stay in South America; the story has the caption "Rugged Routes."

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

Seventh National Convention Held at Boston, Mass., August 9-12, 1908. Most Rev. William O'Connell, D.D. (now Cardinal O'Connell), Archbishop of Boston, Mass., Sponsor.

The Seventh National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies was held in Boston, Mass., Aug. 9, 10, 11, 12, 1908. The opening services were held at Holy Cross Cathedral. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Arthur J. Teeling of Lynn, Mass., was the celebrant of the mass, assisted by Rev. J. J. McCarthy, Rev. J. J. Crane and Rev. M. J. Splaine, D.D. Most Rev. William O'Connell, D.D. (now Cardinal O'Connell) occupied the episcopal throne, and surrounding him were Bishop McFaul of Trenton, N. J., Bishop Canevin of Pittsburgh, Pa., Bishop Hendricks of Cebu, Philippine Islands, and Msgr. M. J. Lavelle of New York, Msgr. Joseph Schrends (now Bishop of Cleveland) and many priests.

The sermon was preached by Archbishop O'Connell. It was one of the most powerful sermons ever preached in the Boston Cathedral. Archbishop O'Connell read the gospel of the Sunday which described Christ weeping over Jerusalem and upon this he based the main argument of his sermon—giving his subject the title: "The Church—The Strong Safeguard of the Republic." He showed how Christ loved not only mankind in general, but he loved his own people as brothers love brothers with all their faults.

"Christ weeping over Jerusalem," said the Archbishop, "will remain as long as the world lasts, a picture of that true patriotism of love of home and country which every follower of Christ should feel. A picture, not of the false and flattering love which cries, 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace, which signals, 'all is well,' even when the enemy is at the gates, which lulls the dozing citizens to sleep with lullabys fit only for babes. There are plenty such now being sung—sweet meaningless messages of false optimism telling the world how good it is and that it is constantly growing better.

"Not such was Christ's patriotism, not such may be ours, as we prize at their true value the prosperity and the real happiness of the land we love with truly christian patriotism. Our duty it is, rather to see as if with His vision, what are the foes doing that silently and stealthily are undermining the strength of our beloved

nation; and to raise our voices incessantly against them, not with the wail of pessimism, but with the voice of affectionate warning.

"For this land has been given over by God's providence to the rule of all the people, and every citizen must, in accepting its benefits, accept also the responsibility of guarding its welfare. First ever in its defense, as first in every civic duty should be the Catholic Christian. . . . Today thousands of her children from every part of this vast land, are gathered in this historic city of Boston to give new proof of their fidelity to their country's interests; to sit for a while with Christ upon the mountain and to see as with His eyes what things are for the nation's peace, and then to go forward and strive as He did to diminish as far as we can the false principles which threaten her very vitality, and to make known the doctrine of Christ in which alone there is life and strength, not only for the individual, but for the whole nation.

"This, in brief, is the primary motive and reason for the Federation of Catholic Societies—namely, to safeguard the best interests of the nation by endeavoring to bring out into the actual Christian civilization upon which Christian society is built; and secondly, by denouncing fearlessly whatever endangers the public moral welfare and agitating prudently to bring about a healthy public sentiment. . . . And I daresay that the Catholic Church alone must soon be recognized, not merely as the strongest, but as the only bulwark against the prevalent social evils which seem to threaten not only the prosperity, but the very life of the nation. . . ."

MASS MEETING IN SYMPHONY HALL

A monster mass meeting took place at the Boston Symphony Hall on Sunday, August 9th, 1908. Mr. Henry Wessling, President of the Boston Federation, presided and welcomed the delegates. He introduced the Hon. M. J. Murray, Judge of the Municipal Court of Boston, as chairman of the mass meeting. Those who spoke were Archbishop O'Connell, Lieutenant Governor Draper, Mayor Hibbard and Edward Feeney, National President of the Federation. Mr. Feeney in his reply to the welcome, stated "that from the best information obtainable it appears that in 1688 the only Catholic pioneer in this colony was Ann Glover, who, tradition says, had once been sold into slavery by Oliver Cromwell. In 1908, in this Archdiocese 830,000 souls now lift up their voices before God's altar in praise of the Most High."

"Federation," said Mr. Feeney, "will appeal for a clean press, pure literature, proper observance of the Lord's Day, honest govern-

ment, decent citizenship and protection of Catholic interests. In this army of Federation, are men and women of many nationalities, Germans, Irish, English, French, Italians, Polish, Bohemians, Slavonians, Hungarians, and every one of them is a loyal American. There are no enemies of government in Federation. As a soldier of the Grand Army of the Republic I will vouch for the million and a half of Federationists. Should evil days come upon our Republic, which God forbid, we would fall in line at the top of the drum in defense of our flag."

The next speaker was Prof. Thomas Dwight, whose subject was the "Church and Science." He spoke of the great men of science of Catholic Faith, Mondino of Bologna, Italy, who laid the foundation to modern anatomy; Mendel who experimented in plants and established a law of heredity now known as Mendel's law; of Valvani, Volta and Ampere discoverers of galvanism, electric volts and amperes; Louis Pasteur, the foremost man of science in the world, and concluded his interesting address by saying: "Such myths as the alleged opposition of the Catholic Church to science must soon perish when the truth is known. To spread it is one of the purposes of Federation."

MONDAY'S BUSINESS SESSION

After a solemn high mass of Requiem in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Boston, celebrated by Very Rev. G. J. Patterson, Vicar General, the convention opened its first business session in Symphony Hall. Mr. E. Feeney presided. The report of the credentials committee disclosed that there were 27 States, 17 National Organizations and 24 dioceses represented besides Hawaii and the Philippine Islands.

FEDERATION ACTIVITIES

National Secretary Anthony Matre's report showed the following activities of Federation during the fiscal year:

Federation has now been introduced into every State in the Union, besides Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands.

Socialism's activities were curbed. The "Appeal to Reason" of which F. D. Warren was editor, and which was one of the chief mouthpieces of Socialism, opened a campaign of aggression against Catholics and their religion and got out a Senate Document No. 190 under the falsified heading, "Immoralists and Political Grafting of Roman Catholic Priests in the Philippine Islands." This document

purported to be a report of the United States government; investigation made about the Friars in the Philippine Islands. The document showed the many charges filed against the Friars by their enemies and failed to include the testimony given in favor of the Friars by such eminent men as the Provincial of the Dominicans, by Rev. Juan Villegas, head of the Franciscans, Very Rev. Jose Lobo of the Augustinians; Very Rev. F. Araya of the Order of Recollects; Very Rev. A. M. De Moverlin of the Capuchins; Rev. Michael Saderra of the Jesuits; Rev. Juan Sabater of the Benedictines as well as the Methodist Bishop Rolinson. Federation sent a copy of this supposed Senate Document to Washington. In response Hon. C. R. Edwards, Brigadier General of the U. S. Army and Chief of Bureau of Insular Affairs, forwarded to Federation a copy of the original Senate Document stating in his letter: "You will observe that the title of the *official* document which I enclose is not that given to the document which you enclosed." The correct title is: "Lands Held for Ecclesiastical or Religious Uses in the Philippine Islands."

A request from Archbishop Hartz of Manila requesting Federation's assistance in having Congress to appropriate a sum of money to repair in part the damages done to churches, schools and convents during the Spanish-American War was complied with. Federation sent letters to all Congressmen and Senators. As a result an appropriation bill of \$403,030.19 was passed for the Church in the Philippines. Archbishop Hartz in appreciation of Federation's services wrote as follows:

"I thank the Federation for the work it has done in behalf of the poor churches in the Philippine Islands and I can assure you that you have the gratitude of millions of devoted Catholics in these Islands. . . . I acknowledge my indebtedness to the A. F. of C. S. and to you personally.

"(Signed) J. J. HARTZ,
Archbishop of Manilla."

JUDGE WILFLEY CASE

Federation's activities in the Judge Wilfley matter were successful. This Judge represented the U. S. in Shanghai, China. He made an uncalled for attack upon the Catholic Church and its priests in a decision handed down in a will case. The Catholics of Shanghai, headed by Rev. M. Kennelly, S. J. of St. Joseph's Church, got out a protest which was signed by many prominent Catholics of Shanghai and by Rt. Rev. Bishop Paris, S. J., asking for the removal of said

Judge. A copy of this protest was sent to President Roosevelt and to the Catholic Press of the U. S. and a world-wide publicity was given to the whole matter which made things so unpleasant for the offending Judge who came to America and made an apology which was accepted by the Bishop of Shanghai. He returned to Shanghai long enough to pack his belongings—for he was recalled. The activities against this offending official by the Federated Societies were so strong that it made every political representative of the U. S. sit up and take notice that no matter in what part of the world he might be to represent the Stars and Stripes his actions will be watched and publicly resented by the Catholics of the United States should bigotry on his part be displayed and proven. The Secretary's report reviewed Federation's activities with regard to a Catholic Y. M. C. A., with the Young Men's Institute and the Catholic Young Men's National Union as a foundation. Other activities by Branch Federations disclosed: Shutting out of gambling on race tracks in Louisiana; permission to carry on Catholic worship in Public Institutions; interest shown in Juvenile Courts.

Restoration of the use of Tribal and Treaty Funds of the Indians for Catholic mission schools, in whose behalf Federation interceded, was greeted with satisfaction after Chief Justice Fuller rendered his decision in favor of these funds.

Calls for Federation's literature were received from Dr. W. Hohn, Director of the General Headquarters of the Volksverine of Germany of M. Gladbach; from Rev. James M. Usher of the Archbishop's Palace of Buenos Ayres, South America; from the Archbishop of Glasgow, Scotland, and from the Bishops of Belize and Hawaii.

OTHER SESSIONS

After the appointments of the various committees and the reading of messages from various prelates, Bishop Canevin of Pittsburgh gave a very illuminating address on Federation and its work. At Tuesday's meeting Bishop Thomas Hendrick of Cebu, Philippine Islands addressed the delegates on conditions in his province.

During the afternoon session a number of Catholic Lawyers discussed the "Divorce Question" and what part Catholic Lawyers should take in divorce proceedings. The debate was most interesting and the conclusions were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

TUESDAY EVENING'S MASS MEETING

Another large meeting was held for the public on Tuesday evening at which addresses were delivered by Hon. T. B. Minahan, who

in his appeal to non-Catholics, said: "We can stand together against the inroads of anarchy, against race-suicide and against the divorce evil, so as to keep our flag beneath the Cross—the grandest emblem of human happiness and human freedom."

Mr. Thomas H. Cannon of Chicago spoke on the "Catholic Press"; Mr. F. W. Heckenkamp of Quincy, Illinois, spoke on "The Church and Labor"; Bishop James McFaul on "Federation"; Chief Joe Horn Cloud on "Catholic Indians." Archbishop O'Connell of Boston was the last speaker. He lauded the work of Federation and referring to Bishop McFaul, whom he called "the founder and promoter of everything about Federation," he said: "Bishop McFaul is one of the Americans to whom the country owes a tremendous debt of gratitude."

THE FINAL SESSIONS—CHURCH EXTENSION RESOLUTIONS

The final session took place on Wednesday, August 12. It opened with an address on "Church Extension" by Rev. W. D. O'Brien (now Rt. Rev. Monsignor O'Brien, President of the Catholic Church Extension Society of Chicago). He spoke of the progress made by the the Society; of the newly founded "Extension Magazine," and of the "chapel car" which was brought to Boston for exhibition to the delegates. Rev. John E. Burke, Director General of the Colored Missions in the U. S. also spoke. He said there were nine millions of colored people in this country. Four million profess no faith, and 200,000 are Catholics.

The Resolutions presented were as follows:

Resolutions on Religious Matters: "Modernism"; "Observance of the Lord's Day"; "Proper Observance of Lent"; "To Stem the Tide of Indifference"; Catholics Urged to Join Religious Societies or Confraternities"; "Colored Missions"; "Church Extension"; "Indian Missions"; "Catholic Press and Literature."

Resolutions on Educational Matters: "Christian Education and School Fund"; "Morality in Our Public Schools"; "Religious Instruction an Absolute Necessity"; "Supporting Our Schools"; "Catholic Truth Society"; "Catholic Juvenile Papers"; "Lectures on Catholic Topics"; "Catholic Educational Association"; "Catholic Books in Public Libraries."

Resolutions on Social Matters: "Divorce"; "Socialism"; "Indecent Literature"; "Pictures in Catholic Homes"; "Catholic Aid So-

cieties and Employment Bureaus"; 'Juvenile Courts'; "Young Men's Associations"; Religious Tests"; "Catholic Interests"; "Clean Politics"; "Child Labor"; "International Peace."

A CATHOLIC Y. M. C. A.

The special committee on a Catholic Y. M. C. A. presented the following recommendation: "Deploring the general lack of, and realizing the urgent necessity for associations of Catholic young men, we recommend the institution of such organizations throughout the country and urge the formation of a national organization that will embrace all the Catholic young men of the nation. For the accomplishment of this we recommend the union of such local and district young men's societies as may now exist, and commend them for the good work they are doing."

Representatives of Branch Federations, at this time, made interesting reports of their various activities, after which other Committees on Constitution, Ways and Means, Associate Membership, and Finance made reports.

The Committee on Finance reported: Total Receipts, \$6,015.18.

The following officers were elected unanimously:

National President, Edward Feeney, Brooklyn, N. Y.

National Vice Presidents, J. B. Oelkers, Newark, N. J.; Thos. P. Flynn, Chicago, Illinois; G. W. Stenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Henry Wessling, Boston, Mass.; J. J. Hynes, Buffalo, N. Y.; Gilbert Harmon, Toledo, Ohio.

National Secretary, Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.

Treasurer, Mrs. Elizabeth Rodgers, Chicago, Illinois.

Marshal, J. M. Schaefer, Hays, Kansas.

Color Bearer, J. Horn Cloud, Pine Ridge, S. D.

Executive Board: Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, Milwaukee, Wis.; Rt. Rev. J. A. McFaul, Trenton, N. J.; N. Gonner, Dubuque, Iowa; Walter George Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.; Thos. H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill.; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Peter Wallrath, Evansville, Ind.; D. Duffy, Pottsville, Pa.; Dr. Felix Gaudin, New Orleans; M. Cummings, Boston; T. B. Minahan, Seattle, Wash.

Convention adjourned *sine die* to meet in Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1909.

ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.,

National Secretary.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

Eighth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies Held at Pittsburgh, Pa., August 8-11, 1909. Rt. Rev. Regis Canevin, D. D., Bishop of Pittsburgh, Pa., Sponsor.

The Eighth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies was held in Pittsburgh, Pa., August 8-11, 1909. The opening services were held in the Cathedral of Saint Paul. Rt. Rev. Regis Canevin, Bishop of Pittsburgh, was the celebrant of the Pontifical High Mass. In the sanctuary were Bishop J. A. McFaul of Trenton, N. J., Bishop C. P. Maes of Covington, Ky., Bishop J. E. Fitzmaurice of Erie, Pa., Bishop J. J. Hartley of Columbus, Ohio, Rt. Rev. Monsignor Schremb of Grand Rapids, Mich., Rt. Rev. A. J. Feeling of Lynn, Mass., Rt. Rev. F. L. Tobin, and a score of priests.

The sermon was delivered by Rt. Rev. Camilus Paul Maes, D. D., Bishop of Covington, Ky. The Bishop began his sermon by saying: "I know of no movement among Catholics in the United States that is destined to do more widespread and lasting good to the church, if faithful to its guidance, than the American Federation of Catholic Societies which you are making so noteworthy by large membership, and by your numerous presence." The Bishop then spoke of the many problems that need solution, and urged all societies to rally under the banner of Federation.

MASS MEETING IN CARNEGIE HALL

A great mass meeting was held Sunday night at Carnegie Hall which was filled to overflowing. Mr. John R. McKavney (now Father McKavney) president of the Allegheny County Federation, welcomed the delegates and introduced Hon. Francis Burke, Member of the U. S. Congress, as chairman of the mass-meeting. Among the speakers were Bishop Canevin, Mayor Magee, Hon. J. F. Burke, National President Edward Feeney and Hon. Walter George Smith of Philadelphia. The latter's subject was "The Catholic Citizen." In speaking of the Federation Mr. Smith said: "We need but look at a single year's work of the Federation for concrete evidence of its beneficial influence. Religious education, the enlightenment of public opinion on the subject of divorce, the crusade against immorality on the stage and the vitiation of public morals by indecent publications and placards, the encouragement of Juvenile Courts, the observance of Sunday, the correction of injustice to our dependant population—Indians,

Colored and Insular—all show what can be accomplished by intelligent unity and effort.” . . .

MONDAY'S BUSINESS SESSION—REPORTS OF ACTIVITIES

The Business Session was opened Monday morning, after the delegates had attended a solemn Mass of Requiem at St. Paul's Cathedral. The Credential Committee, of which Mr. Thos. McFarland was chairman, made its report. Illinois was represented by thirteen delegates. President Feeney and National Secretary Anthony Matre made their reports which disclosed that the Federation movement has been introduced in all the States of the Union and that 19 National Organizations and 23 colleges and institutions were enrolled as members. The National Secretary's report showed Federation's continued activities on the Divorce Evil and Socialism and the wide publicity these matters were receiving in the daily press and among non-Catholic bodies. Its crusade on slanderous books and circulars and newspapers was also reported disclosing that the "Globe Democrat," a St. Louis, Mo., daily paper apologized for publishing a scurrilous article on Blessed Joan of Arc (now St. Joan of Arc) and that the "Whittier (Calif.) News" also apologized for publishing an offensive article. The Southwestern Division of the Union News Co. withdrew from display and sale a number of objectionable books on complaint of Federation, and a large theatrical syndicate which had under its control 90 per cent of the bookings for theatres in the U. S. and Canada pledged itself to discontinue all objectionable plays. The Mail Pouch Tobacco Company discontinued its objectionable advertisement, likewise the advertisement of a brewing company showing a semi-nude women.

The Federation with other agencies caused the adoption of an amendment of the Federal law concerning the importation and transmission by mail or common carrier of obscene, indecent and filthy matters and articles. The matter was handled by Congressman R. O. Moon who wrote to Federation stating that the bill containing the provision favored by the A. F. C. S. has become a law and received the President's signature.

FEDERATION AND THE RED CROSS CONTROVERSY

Under date of Feb. 7, 1909, the daily press announced that the American Red Cross had placed \$250,000 of money collected from the citizens of the U. S. for the Messina earthquake sufferers at the

disposal of a committee organized by Queen Helena of Italy for the establishment of an orphanage for children left homeless and without parents by the earthquake disaster.

About the same time the "Civiltà Cattolica," one of the most reliable Catholic Journals of Rome, of which Rev. S. Brandi, S. J., of Rome was the editor, announced in its issue of Feb. 20, 1909, that the national committee in charge of the erection of this orphanage had appointed three women to take charge, the one a Socialist and Freemason, the second a Protestant, the third a Jewess, and that President of the Committee was Erneso Nathan, a Hebrew, who, while Mayor of Rome went out of his way many times to insult the Holy Father.

In view of these reports the officers of the Federation feared that the committee appointed could not rear and educate these orphan children, ninety-seven per cent of whom were Catholics, in the faith of their deceased parents and as the money was contributed by Catholics and non-Catholics alike they asked the American Red Cross to look into this matter and see that full justice is done. The letter sent was an "Open Letter."

The Red Cross, through Mayor Gen. Davis, looked upon Federation's letter as an "attack" and instead of answering, he referred Federation's letter to Cardinal Gibbons. Federation, however, had apprised Cardinal Gibbons of the matter and the Cardinal in return sent a letter to Gen. Davis (and also forwarded a copy to the National Secretary of the Federation) in which his Eminence said: "Whilst I feel sure that the American Red Cross in this country has always been prompted by motives of justice and charity, in the distribution of funds entrusted to it, I must say that I have heard of complaints regarding the Red Cross in Italy, and as these complaints come from reliable sources, I fear that they have some foundation." (Signed) *James Cardinal Gibbons*.

This reply evidently did not suit Gen Davis and the Red Cross for he sent no further reply to Federation. The Catholic Press was then asked by Federation to take up this matter editorially and to send marked copies of their paper to Gen. Davis and the Red Cross. This was done and Federation received its delayed response which stated that the matter had been referred to a non-partisan source in Italy for investigation. In this response Gen. Davis took objection to the "Civiltà Cattolica's" assertion that Mayor Nathan of Rome was the Chairman of the Committee in charge of the orphanage. Fed-

eration referred this communication to Rev. Father Brandi, S. J., Editor of the "Civiltà Cattolica."

Under date of April 25, 1909, Father Brandi backs up the statements of his paper and says that the American Federation of Catholic Societies has done an excellent work in publishing its open letter to the officers of the American Red Cross calling their attention to the sectarian use made in Italy of the money collected by them in the United States and placed at the disposal of the National Central Committee. "The facts," said Father Brandi, "which are asserted in the Federation's letter, are notorious and no one would dare deny them in Italy."

Father Brandi then goes on to say that fearing the strong public opinion against their methods, the Italian members of the Committee declared that the orphans must be brought up in the faith of their parents. Father Brandi also emphatically stated again that Ernesto Nathan, the Jewish Mayor of Rome, is the Executive Head of the National Central Committee "who has the money and who with his colleagues has the disposition of it." Nathan's appointment, according to the "Tribuna" of Rome, was made on January 21st, 1909.

The publicity given to this whole matter and the facts given to the Red Cross by Federation caused the Red Cross to assume a different attitude and Major Gen. Davis in a letter to Federation assured the Catholics of the U. S. that the Industrial school which is being erected with American money for the orphans of the Messina earthquake victims, will be known as the "American Red Cross Orphanage," and that the children will be reared in the faith of their parents and that the American Ambassador will be a member of the Executive Committee, and will not be a dependency of the National Central Committee.

This closed the controversy and from it the American Red Cross had learned to recognize the importance of the American Federation of Catholic Societies and that a request coming from that body is deserving of conscientious and dignified consideration.

OTHER MATTERS

The National Secretary's report also disclosed the fact that during the year Pope Pius X had taken special interest in Federation. On the visit to Rome by Archbishop Blenk of New Orleans, La., a member of Federation's Advisory Board, the Holy Father commended the aims and purposes of Federation very highly. His Holiness also

thanked Federation for its congratulatory cablegram and during the month of March he asked the Sacred Heart League to pray for "Catholic Federation."

After the reading of messages from members of the hierarchy, among them letters from Cardinal Satolli and Cardinal Martinelli of Rome and Cardinal Logur of Ireland, the meeting adjourned until Tuesday, August 10.

TUESDAY'S ACTIVITIES

The Tuesday session was opened with prayer by Bishop Canevin. The Committee on "Constitution and on "Ways and Means," made its report. Short addresses were made by Rev. Dr. Supple, Editor of Boston "Pilot"; by Rev. John E. Burke on "Colored Missions"; Rev. F. H. Steinbrecher of Wisconsin on the "Formation of a National Catholic Alumni Association."

The Committee on Resolutions offered the following timely Resolutions: "Socialism and Divorce"; "Observance of the Lord's Day"; "Civil Loyalty of Catholics"; "Holy Name Society"; "Mission to Non-Catholics"; "Negro Missions"; "Indian Missions"; "Church Extension"; "Catholic Missionary Union," "Religious Education and School Fund"; "Necessity of Religious Instruction"; "Catholic High School College and University Training"; "Catholic Educational Association"; "Catholic Education for Deaf Mutes"; "Alumni Associations"; "Graduating Exercises in Churches"; "Catholic Books and Periodical Literature"; "Catholic Press"; "Catholic Juvenile Papers"; "Clean Journalism"; "Immoral Theatrical Shows"; "Theatres"; "Public Morality"; "White Slave Traffic"; "Religious Tests"; "Religious Lectures"; "Truth Societies and Lectures"; "Catholic Art"; "Gettysburg Monument to Father Corby."

TUESDAY'S MASS MEETING

Another mass meeting was held at Carnegie Hall on Tuesday evening, August 10, 1909. Mr. Thomas H. Cannon of Chicago, Ill., acted as chairman. The speakers were Rev. Henry Westropp, S. J., on "Indian Missions"; Prof. J. C. Monaghan, on "Socialism"; Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul on "The Apostolate of the Laity." Bishop Canevin read a message addressed to him from Rome from Pope Pius X. The meeting, which was largely attended, closed with the singing "Holy God We Praise Thy Name."

WEDNESDAY'S SESSIONS

The business sessions on Wednesday discussed at length a proposed plan of alliance between the Young Men's Institute (Y. M. I.) and the Young Men's National Union to form a National Y. M. C. A. Interesting reports of the activities of Branch Federations of Ohio, Massachusetts, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Maryland, Texas, Michigan, California, etc., were given by delegates.

The report of the Finance Committee disclosed that the receipts were \$6,744.81; expenditures, \$3,720.49; cash balance, \$3,024.32.

The following National officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President: Edward Feeney, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Vice Presidents: J. B. Oelkers, Newark, N. J.; Thomas P. Flynn, Chicago, Ill.; G. W. Stenger, St. Paul, Minn.; H. Wessling, Boston, Mass.; J. J. Haynes, Buffalo, N. Y.; Joseph Conroy, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Secretary: Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.

Treasurer: Mrs. Elizabeth Rodgers, Chicago, Ill.

Marshal: Edward Carlin, Kansas.

Color Bearer: Joseph Red Willow, South Dakota.

Executive Board: Most Rev. S. C. Messmer, Milwaukee, Wis.; Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, Trenton, N. J.; Thos. H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill.; N. Gonner, Dubuque, Ia.; Walter George Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Daniel Duffy, Pottsville, Pa.; Matthew Cummings, Boston, Mass. Adolph Suess, East St. Louis, Ill.; Chas. I. Denechand, New Orleans, La.; John Whalen, New York, N. Y.

After closing remarks by Bishop Canevin and Bishop McFaul, the convention adjourned to meet in New Orleans, La., November, 1910.

(signed) ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.,

National Secretary.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN HISTORY

BY LAURENCE J. KENNY, S. J.

I—WHERE WE MUST BEGIN

American history starts with the coming of man upon the earth. The error that it begins with the story of the Indian has been discarded. It is nearer the truth to say that the territory now known as America was Europeanized by the hosts of people who crossed the Atlantic and almost completely overwhelmed the old native races. But even this is not the entire truth: not Europe alone, but all the continents have contributed to the making of America: the Asiatic law-giver, whose enduring cuneiforms set a model code for every subsequent state; the African king whose yearnings for immortality built the pyramids; and the Hebrew poet, there at the crossroads of the old world, whose psalms echo deeply today in every humanized heart, these, as well as the Greek and the Roman contributors to civilization, form the sub-structure of present-day American history. America is built on deep foundations.

II—WHEN WAS THE BEGINNING?

History loves important dates: can we date the beginning of all history, the time of the advent of man into the world? Certain of the sciences, ancillary to history, have given keen attention to this question. The metaphysical science of Cosmology discusses whether the universe ever had a beginning or not. The Greek originators of this science knew no gods powerful enough to create and consequently thought the universe was eternal. But the neo-scholastics, following Aquinas (A. D. 1225-74), the prince of metaphysicians, see an impossibility of any contingent beings, such as any of the objects of our senses, having a necessary existence or eternal duration, and they consequently hold that the world—the sun, moon, earth, and stars—had a beginning.

The physical sciences, all, accept this solution, and strive to calculate how many years have elapsed since the beginning occurred. The astronomers take up almost the complete problem and inquire when it was that the first spark of light shone out in the depths of space and when the first particle of matter appeared in the boundless ocean of nothingness. Until recently the mathematical astronomers thought Lord Kelvin's calculation, that the dissipation of heat into space could not have gone on for more than 20,000,000 years, gave a fairly proximate answer. But the study of radium has led to a

complete abandonment of this figure, and that science is now mute.

The young science of geology cares little for Arcturus, the Pleiades, or the far reaches of the solar system. It turns its gaze down to the ground and is satisfied to investigate the age of this one planet, the earth. It has found answers in the strata of the rocks, the erosion of cataracts, the construction of deltas, the salsification of the seas, and elsewhere. But the answers confute one another: they are far more varied than the problems, they are almost as diverse as the investigators. They agree, however, in saying that this is a very old earth; and incidentally they flatter us with the belief that America, our continent, or rather a stretch of it along the course of the St. Lawrence river, the Laurentine stratum, is the oldest land on the planet. It may be confidently hoped that this ambitious science may in the not distant future solve the problem of the age of the earth.

The archaeologist, taking up the next question, wrestles with the riddle as to how long it has been since the simplest forms of life first appeared in the ooze of the primordial terrestrial swamps. Passing over other science, anthropology finally attempts to date the coming of man, of an intelligent being, among the denizens of the earth. Astronomy, geology, archaeology, and the rest, with one accord admit that the human species is a comparatively recent arrival in the star-lit palace that has been waiting for him through the unfathomed ages.

III—HOW WAS THE BEGINNING?

Above the natural sciences, the science of theology moves as the sun amid the constellations. By her light we know with certainty and clarity of knowledge that many of the hypotheses of those other sciences are right. We know that there was a beginning. It came about through the act of creation. We know, too, that this was accomplished in successive stages or days. The theologian, Augustine of Hippo, (354-430), would have us avoid concluding that these days were of twenty-four hours, seeing, he says, that there was no sun to mark the first, second, and third days, as it was created on the fourth day. We know that intelligence was the last act of creation. We know that the entire human race has one common ancestor, and that consequently all men are brothers, despite their wide diversities in size, color, or race. We know the solution of the strange fact that primitive man, whether we find him building gigantic structures in the valley of the Euphrates, or leaving marvellously executed etchings on the walls of the caves of the Pyrenees, while so clear of intellect was broken in will: unable to follow the laws his mind approved, and doomed to an unequal struggle against the forces of the unfriendly

elements. The created intelligence refused to conform its activities to the high demands of its relationship with uncreated Truth and Love; but intoxicated with self it wrecked the world in the orgies (repeated through the ages) of a stupid delirium of crime. There was, however some flotsam from the wreck. Here and there through the ancient times, by the stern power of some despotic minds, sporadic civilizations sprang up in various parts of the world: Babylonian, Egyptian, Chinese, East Indian, Mediterranean, Hebrew, Persian and others. On three of these the inquiring mind delights to dwell: first, the Greek, whose mind retained some memory of the Eternal Beauty, and who strove by every means of human expression to convey his rapture to posterity; then, the Roman, whose crude sense of rectitude laid long straight lines across the world, and bound men and nations into unity under a supreme law; and finally the Hebrew, over whose shaggy form there ever flickered a shekinah of Divinity that ennobled the lowliness on which its splendors rested.

IV—A NEW ORDER OF THE AGES

The greatest event in this world's history—from it a new order of the ages begins—occurred when in a Greek outpost of the Roman Empire a Hebrew child came into the world, who alone of heroes and conquerors was able to vanquish Death. His name was Wonderful, Father of the world to come, God with us. *Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitus ordo*. Let it be mentioned among the little results of his coming that Emperors have thrown off the mask of Divinity by which they enslaved their subjects; conquerors have become ashamed to drag sacrificial captives before their triumphal cars; husbands no longer claim the right of life and death over their wives and children; laboring men are no longer directed in their work by the lash; in a word, physical power came to terms with moral force: the Lion and the Lamb lay down together.

V—THIS BEGINNING OF AMERICA

American history, that began with the coming of man upon the earth, here enters a new phase. The principles that lie at the very deepest foundation of American civilization were now first fully enunciated. The every-day life of the American people—the most proper subject of historical investigation—moves and rests, instinct with the motives here set in action. No comprehension of our history, no proper appreciation of its highest, its human, element is possible without a knowledge of the life and teachings of Jesus.

First of all we hold to His reconstruction of the individual, the family and the state. Jesus accepted the natural order of the world—the handiwork of the Creator—as wholly good save only where it has been marred by the wilfulness of man. Thus the individual yearning for liberty is sanctioned: Call no man Father. Thus the right of man and man to enter into binding contracts, and particularly of male and female to the marriage contract, which neither personal whim, nor the slave-market bargain, nor king's behest, nor even the Church herself may dissolve, is recognized: Let no man put asunder. Thus, too, the instinct of groups of men to form a civil society, the state, is held sacred: Render to Caesar. These natural things the Christian system absorbed into itself as an architect's structure assembles the component stones.

VI—CHRISTIANITY

Christ's more important work, however, was the building up of the supernatural order. For this purpose He founded His Church; He selected His apostles who were to carry on His mission after His departure from earth, and over them and over all His flock He placed Peter as supreme shepherd on earth. They are not Christ's who are not shepherded by Peter. The Church, under the headship of Peter's successors, is historical Christianity. In the United States a great many persons are in protest against one or other of the teachings of the Church, but so nearly all have accepted the fundamentals of Christianity that it may be safely asserted that no man has contributed notably to the making of America whose mind was not illumined by Christian principles, and no event of real worth occurred that countervailed those principles.

Deepest of all Christ's far-reaching influences is the power He gave to those who believe in Him to be the children of God. He drove from the heart of humanity the frightful things that had enthroned themselves as divinities. Stocks and stones, beats and kings, and brutal passions had usurped the seat of Majesty. But Baal, Apis, Venus, and Thor made way for that Spirit whom Christ authorized us to call "Our Father in heaven."

History almost too readily yields to treatises on Religion the exposition of facts and effects so directly consequent on the gift of faith, and hope and charity. It does not, for instance, show how powerful, ubiquitous, and deep rooted have been the effects in every walk of life of the introduction of the Christian's wondrous hope in a worthy and everlasting reward. Everywhere this hope strengthens

the reign of Truth so necessary to all human intercourse. History cannot, indeed, raise its eyes to the millions of human beings for whom Christianity lighted the way to the full fruition of all the good things that are the consummation of man's most earnest yearnings; but it owes to truth to declare how this hope has engendered our social and political stability. Faith and hope and charity were very real agencies in the making of the ages from the coming of the Savior until our own time. But we shall here leave their more immediate consequences, with this slight protest, to works dealing with the supernatural.

VI—CHRISTIANITY OPERATES IN ROME

Pagan Rome was supreme in the civilized world when the twelve despised fishermen, Peter, and John, and James, and the others of Christ's apostles, received their commission to go forth and conquer. Pride, covetousness, lust and all the passions in such human forms as Caligula, Nero, Eliogabalus, had built themselves strongholds on the Tiber whence they lorded it successfully over every best thing in the human soul. Naturally at the word of Christian comfort, the weak, particularly woman and the slave, harkened eagerly, hopefully; though without daring to respond. When the better nature of some of the powerful among the men was touched, these, with all their households, were baptized. The baptism was not infrequently in blood.

For three long centuries Rome witnessed a spectacle, not dreamed of by her earlier philisophers or poets. She had always loved the truth, and had heard with admiration how one marvellous philosopher of Greece had died for the truth; but of all her myriad offspring she had produced no imitator of the heroism of that rare Greek. Now, however, not only Greeks, and Jews, but her own progeny, even little children, Paneratius and Vitus and Agnes, became philosophers, and shed their blood willingly, joyfully, blessing their executioners, showing their Master's victory over death. Life had been given an eternal outlook.

It was a work of centuries for the fishermen to destroy the paganism of the empire, for gentle love to vanquish brutal power. Strange to say heathenism's last stronghold was in the university of proud decadent Athens. As a religion and a state policy the overthrow was complete, but the thing itself under multitudinous disguises and names still flourishes wherever unregenerate man is found. But just when Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Minerva and the others of this fam-

ily were being dethroned forever, Thor's hammers broke the mountain barriers that held him in the north, and so opened a way into southern civilized Europe for a tempest of barbarous forces that swept every opposition before them, so much as to cause the recent victory over paganism to appear almost defeat. The Franks swept into Gall; the Visigoths poured into Spain; the Alans into Portugal; Germany became the camping and recruiting ground for nameless nomadic tribes; the Roman power in Britain fell before the hordes of Pagan Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. Rome herself, first captured by the Goths, was later laid waste by the Vandals. For six weeks the fox and the wolf were the sole dwellers in the eternal city. But all was not lost.

VII—THERE WERE NO DARK AGES

On the confines of Europe and Asia, a New Rome, named in honor of its founder, the City of Constantine, had sprung into sudden and brilliant life. It was here—not in old Rome—that Roman law was codified; and simultaneously Byzantine art blossomed into its highest grandeur in the still-standing cathedral of Saneta Sophia. Constantinople was always holding the torch. Old Greece is forever praiseworthy and applauded because on two brief occasions she withheld the onrush of Persian—a respectable civilization—from pouring in upon the Hellenic peninsula. For long and fearful centuries Constantinople withheld with constant deeds of unsurpassed bravery the lusting onrush of the unspeakable Moslem into Europe. But the new wine of Christian ideals could not be held in the old bottles, even of New Rome. Pride made an absolutist of its ruler, and nationalists of its populace. Great, powerful, erudite Constantinople despised the scarcely resurgent city on the Tiber, and she cut herself from the young, vitalized, though still rude, nations that the Popes were slowly but solidly building up in the west. The proud city fell; she who had been for a longer period than any other capital in history the emporium of art, science, industry, education, and even of true religious asceticism, finds no pen today to tell her own offspring—if any will acknowledge her maternity—or to make known to the new nations, the glories that were truly hers in the centuries of her magnificence. No other similar blank page occurs in history.

VIII—THE LIGHT IN THE WEST

While night was coming over the Bosphorus, dawn was breaking in the west. The great one thousand years ensued. Now it was not nations, nor cities, nor primarily art, nor commerce, much less war,

but man that flourished. The beatitudes were in fashion. They made man himself admirable. Woman became the symbol of the Love that ruled the earth, and childhood attained its sweetest loveliness. It was earth's only era of joy and song. No great poets but all the people sang; troubadours, trouveres, minnesingers, serventists; the chanters of Charlemagne and his paladins, of Arthur, of Cuchullin, of the Cid, of the Nibelung heroes; the sagas and the eddas—there was melody in every new nation. But this Eden in which man almost walked again with God in the evening air was a small place, just little centers, almost as diminutive as the spots in Greece where the earlier cultures had made the earth so splendid. Charity must perforce go forth; enlarge its field, expand, and, if need be, die, that the multitudes may live.

Christianity's first new nation was Ireland. Here alone the great light shone when all the western world was dark. The nation proved itself rich not only in the beauty of its domestic holiness, but particularly in the armies of peace that it sent forth to conquer all along the frontiers held by ignorance and vice. Columba and his monks erected a pharos on Iona that brought the present Scotland out of paganism; his disciple, Aidan (d. 651), at Lindesfarne, taught the alphabet and all the arts of peace to five of the seven kingdoms of Britain; Columbanus encamped in northern Italy, Cataldus just south of Rome; Gall went into Switzerland, Romuald to Belgium, Farrell to Bavaria. We count 44 such Irish saints in England, 45 in Gaul, 30 in Belgium, 13 in Italy, eight in Iceland and Norway, and more than 100 in the various parts of Germany and Austria. The impress they left in the hearts of all these people endures to today. How much more do these men and their enduring work deserve a place in history than the leaders of destroying armies!

IX—THE MONKS AND THE NUNS

Greater than any national contribution to the new life was that of the monks, particularly those of St. Benedict, and of the nuns, the followers of St. Scholastica. These were the prime constructive forces in the building of the western nations. The monk and the nun did not confine their teaching to doctrinal discourses. They taught by example. They put themselves in the condition of the slave and by example showed forth the dignity of labor in the field, at the beach and at the anvil. They inculcated principles of virtue into the customs of domestic and social life, while they also formulated rules for civil government. With the dignity of labor they also taught the

dignity of manhood. Slavery died a gentle death; feudalism supervened; but this was struck a fatal blow when the monarch in Spain was won to acknowledge the contractual nature of his superiority. "If you obey our laws," their grandees swore to them, "we shall obey you; if not, not." A Spanish knight brought this principle to Britain and made the Magna Charta, which is accepted as the basis of the English constitution.

X—CHRISTENDOM

At an earlier date, Clovis (Louis) by his virtues had gained for France the title of eldest daughter of the Church; and an early successor, Charlemagne, by his championship of the rights of the Head of Christendom, inaugurated an ideal co-operation of the temporal with the spiritual power in the government of the world. Here was a true league of nations, sanctified by Christian sincerity. Here was at once that union of Church and State, and that separation of the same, which theorists are so vainly seeking today: a separation in entities—an entirely new thing in the world; and a union in mutual co-operation in activities for the sole good of the subject. This idea emanated from Rome, and flourished under papal fostering. This was Christendom. During several centuries it exalted Henry I of Germany and a long line of German princes to the first place among the royalty of the times. But a succession of emperors, instead of exercising and increasing their power in the boundless stretches legitimately theirs, constantly encroached on individual liberties and ecclesiastical rights, and thus made the Popes their irreconcilable antagonists. The dream of a supreme empire may be said to have been driven from the realm of actual politics, dragged to the grave by the energy and patience of the dying Hilebrand, Gregory VII (1020-85). The name Emperor lives on in diminished honor; theorists and poets, even Dante, still cherished it as a world-hope. Several potentates have ambitioned to revive the corpse, supplying it an artificial soul. First of these was King Philip the Fair of France (1268-1314). His lawyers had dug up the pagan Pandects of Constanti-nople which had contributed so largely to the disruption of that fair Christian city, and they succeeded in injecting into western Europe a virus which still runs in the veins of imperial thinkers, counterfeiting the warmth of patriotism with the diseased fervor of nationalism and destroying the citizenry in the interests of a selfish oligarchy. Henceforth it will be no unusual phenomenon to behold so-called Christian states, defying the anathemas of their mother, the Church, and truly monster-like devouring their own children.

XI—PACIFICISM

This struggle brought to a definition the meaning of true pacifism. The equation between the proper exercise of physical power and Christian forbearance is an ever-recurring problem. Paganism and Mohammedanism ultimately surrender to violence. It cannot be denied that some Christian communities failed in the other extreme—by an excessive pacificism. In sections of Asia Minor, fathers and rulers are met who gave up their sons to the ranks of the Janizzaries and their little daughters to the slavery of the harem as the price of peace. It had been better that all should have perished together in a glorious holocaust. Such abject Christianity as this deservedly perished forever from the earth. Europe, generally, seemed to be moving in this direction when two events occurred that set the false balances back towards their true equilibrium.

XII—THE NORSEMEN

The first of these disturbances was the coming of the Norsemen. Small as must have been their original numbers in Scandinavia they were yet able to overwhelm by their sudden coming the fairest provinces of Germany; to cut off Normandy from France as an appanage for their chief, Rolla; to invade the recesses of Sarmatia and under Roark to build up a new nation, Russia, that must forever henceforth be counted in every reckoning; to harass Spain and Portugal, and to sweep into the Mediterranean, where, under Robert Guiscard, they seized Sicily and Southern Italy, while they battered on the gates of the Dardanelles. These almost incredible achievements make it quite possible and likely that Leif, the son of Red Eric, may have sailed to the coasts of North America about this time, in the year 1000; and that Gudrid at this early period became here on American soil the mother of a line of bishops, princes, and artists that any land should be proud to claim.

Everywhere in Europe the fierce Norsemen men encountered the cross—on the hilt of the sword. They bowed before it. Their hearty and complete conversion was no less remarkable than were their conquests. Unfortunately their faith coming to them somewhat Moslem-like was doomed in the case of many among them to fall away with equal ease at the first whim of an unworthy sovereign. Yet for many the change was intellectual, voluntary, and genuine. It is notable that in the galaxy of saints who flourished at this period in every land of Europe, Scandinavian saints shone conspicuously. This was

the age of Henry I of Germany and his wife Cunegunda; in Hungary, there was Stephen and his son Emeric, in Italian, Amerigo, from whom America is named; England had her Edward; Scotland, her Margaret; while St. Canute (Knut), Olaf, Ansgar (Oscar), form a Norse constellation in the eleventh century heavens.

XIII—THE CRUSADES

The other recognition of the righteousness of physical force, when justly exercised, came in 1095 at the Council of Clermont in France, when Urban II., although the Emperor was then his foe and the King of France was under excommunication, called the rulers of Europe to inaugurate the Crusades. For three centuries the enthusiasm of Christendom for the rescue of the Holy Land from the defilement of the Turk so exalted human nature itself that all other facts in history are obscured in comparison. Of the nations, France distinguished herself by her devotion to the cause, and by the number of her sons who crossed the world to die in so glorious an enterprise. But instead of suffering ruin or decay by so costly an outlay, France, on the contrary, rose at this time to the first place among the nations of the world. Her position of some prominence today is, to a large extent, but a memory of those heroic times.

XIV—EVILS

Other nations had their Crusading heroes, but so difficult is the combination of which we are speaking, of war and virtue, that the Church finds only one man among all the chivalrous hosts of the Crusaders on whom to place the aureola of her praise: Louis of France.

There were evils not a few connected with these multitudinous expeditions of military men. But rarely did the evil eclipse the good. The slaughter of large numbers of the Jews in Germany may not be attributed to the Crusaders, for the perpetrators had both defied the leaders of the Crusades, and even denied the Christian faith. The seige of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade, on the contrary, may not be palliated. It is true that the great Innocent III fulminated against such perfidy; but his act has not succeeded in allaying the hatred of the Byzantine against Western Europe, which perpetuates the schism of Christendom after the real causes of that unhappy division have been forgotten.

War is always a calamity: it is, at rare times, the less of two evils, even though all its wrongs and sorrows can never be fully

reckoned. Yet among physical evils it is not the most terrible. Europe was visited in the 14th century by a plague known as the Black Death, whose direct result was the obliteration of half the population, and whose indirect consequences, running on through subsequent centuries, might seem scarcely less frightful. The chief ministers of civilization and religion fell most numerous as they stood in the breach against the scourge. It took generations for piety and learning to rebuild their decayed institutions, to gather again new groups of sacrifice-loving men and women, the leaders being dead. In some nations these never again gained their ascendancy. One small incident of the coming of the Black Death may not be passed over. Norway and Sweden were almost depopulated. One authority tells us that Norway was reduced to a population of 7,000 souls. Commerce with Iceland and Greenland ceased entirely at this time, and whatever connection there may have been with the mainland of North America was entirely forgotten. The chapter on the Norse discovery of America was closed.

XV—A SHIFTING WORLD

Every century has its revolutions. Change is the law of life. The fifteenth century was full of ferment. The arts and sciences were cultivated in Italy with an earnestness never before known in the world. Adjacent countries caught the spirit, and a Polish priest, Copernicus, by destroying the hitherto universally accepted theories of Ptolemy, brought forth new heavens; and the sailors of Prince Henry of Portugal, crossing the equator, a feat thought impossible by the ancients and their disciples, brought forth a new earth. Constantinople, that had successfully resisted the Moslem for so many centuries, fell at last before the heavy artillery of Mohamet II., and Europe knew that henceforth the whole order of knights (rendered useless by gunpowder) were to be an encumbrance on the earth. But greater than all these in its revolutionary effects, came the invention of printing with movable metal types. Our common schools of today, and the general diffusion of intelligence through the press are the direct result of this simple new mechanism.

An incidental effect of this invention was the placing in the hands of practical men the learning of the ages that had hitherto been confined to the keeping of scholars. Thus the dreams of Plato and Seneca about a western world came, through the writings of Cardinal

D'Ailly, into the mind of a Genoese sailor where they were to be tested, and the jewel of truth within them to be taken out and exposed in the market place for such treasures, the courts of kings.

XVI—THE CHRIST-BEARER, COLUMBUS

We have come to Columbus. Passing over the supernatural, which, however, can never be overlooked in human life—we saw the triumph of the new principles of gentle love and of mercy tempering justice over the might of the cruel Empire of Rome, and over the savagery of the northern tribes, but even Christianity seemed to fail in its clash with the Turk. At the fall of Constantinople (1453), what, to the Roman, was half the world went back into the darkness of barbarism. It is now time for empire to take its westward course and compensate from the hidden recesses of the western seas for so lamentable a loss.

The stage is set. Italy is not merely a land of scholars who are reading the old manuscripts of ancient Greece and Rome, it is also reading Marco Polo and the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*; moreover, Venice alone has 150,000 sailers who know every improvement in navigation that the Crusaders, by invention or the exchange of ideas, have brought into usage. Henry of Portugal, too, as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, with the favor of the Holy See, is gathering about him geographers alike and practical men of affairs to extend the reign of the Savior beyond the confines of Europe. Columbus arrives, and in one bold lift, like the fabled giant of old places the globe upon his shoulder and turns it about. The Mediterranean is no longer the front highway of the world, the Atlantic now stands out as the great thoroughfare of life. Had Columbus actually pushed the axis of the earth from its established position, the revolution that ensued might have been more sudden, indeed, in its consequences, it could not have been more radical for the world's material condition. Millions of Europeans first, then Africans, and Asiatics, will follow the Christ-bearer across the Atlantic where they will find a land so rich in gold and silver, furs and timber, and every luxury that the old-time Promised Land of milk and honey in comparison would be but a diminutive island. These millions will carry with them the spiritual, intellectual, and material inheritances and every precious possession of their old homes. There will be much confusion in connection with the setting forth, and some of the costliest importations

will come in a condition as disordered as if they had been consigned to moving vans. History herself will follow this interesting exodus, for these voyagers will do much reconstruction and will build a new style of home and a new style of nation, but they will build upon that foundation on which all civilization rests—the Rock of Peter.

LAURENCE J. KENNY, S. J.

1928 — A YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENT

A Retrospect of Events in Illinois

BY GERTRUDE A. KRAY

It is the habit of the modern mind to look forward. As a nation we have become accustomed to the commercial phrase "bigger and better" and we grow impatient in reviewing the work of even a year. Ten years would be too much and a quarter of a century a tremendous tax on the memory.

However there is much reason to rejoice in the accomplishments of the past year for the progress of the faith in Illinois has been marked. Buildings of various kinds, schools, churches, convents and colleges have sprung up while the growth of Catholics in numbers particularly by conversions has been a source of joy to priests and bishops.

One of the most tangible proofs of the progress of work for the boy was the material progress made in the interest of the new Holy Name Technical School at Lockport. During the early part of January (1928) two splendid gifts for the school were given to aid the project. One was \$100,000 from Francis J. Lewis, K. S. G., widely known for his benefactions to Catholic endeavor and another of \$5,000 from F. H. Massman, chairman of the executive committee of the Chicago Holy Name society. The school which is to be erected at Lockport will be in charge of the Franciscans from Coblenz, Germany, and within its surroundings worthy boys of Chicago and vicinity will be "given a chance" to become worth while men.

The Rev. Marcelin Schroeder, O. F. M., well known Streator priest and assistant pastor of St. Anthony's church in that city celebrated his silver anniversary in the priesthood on January 23rd. The event was attended by many brother members of the Franciscan order as well as many secular priests and friends in central Illinois. Children of the parish paid a tribute to the jubilarian and Catholics of the city presented him a purse.

The departure on Feb. 4th of the Rev. William M. O'Brien, of the Catholic Foreign Mission society of America at Maryknoll, N. Y. for the mission field in China, called attention to the number of Chicagoans, priests, sisters and brothers, who are aiding in this most worthwhile work of the church in the orient. Rev. Father O'Brien

was formerly a member of St. Brendan's parish, Chicago, and was ordained for the foreign missions. He was assigned to the Maryknoll Kaying Mission in northeastern Kwangtung, South China.

The influx of Mexican Catholics to the United States and especially to states in the central portion of the country is brought clearly to the minds of Chicagoans the missionary work to be done here at home. Under the direction of the pastor, the Rev. James Tort, a member of the Claretian order, and one of the best known Mexican priests in Chicago, the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, named for the patroness of the Latin-American countries, was started in the heart of the South Chicago industrial section. The church, erected at 91st and Brandon avenue, has been the nucleus which has drawn hundreds of fallen away Catholics back to the faith of their fathers.

Members of the Mercy Order in Springfield rejoiced with one of their number—Sister Mary Reginald Condon in the observance of her golden anniversary in the religious life during the early part of February. The occasion was one of jubilee particularly since the Right Reverend James A. Griffin, D. D. bishop of Springfield, graced the occasion by his presence. Pontifical High Mass was celebrated in Sacred Heart convent Springfield.

The Catholic Order of Foresters, one of the most widely known fraternal orders in the country, celebrated the 45th anniversary of its existence Feb. 17th with a banquet and entertainment in the Stevens hotel, Chicago.

Sister Mary Bethlehem Quigley celebrated her golden jubilee as a Good Shepherd religious on Feb. 8th at the Convent of the Good Shepherd, Grace street, Chicago. The Rt. Rev. E. F. Hoban, D. D. celebrated pontifical Mass. Previous to coming to Chicago Sister Mary Bethlehem had served in convents of her order in Milwaukee, Detroit, Peoria and St. Louis.

Sister Mary Francis, observed her golden jubilee Feb. 27 at Mercy hospital, Chicago. Sister Mary Francis who had spent 32 years of her teaching life at St. Patrick's parish South Chicago, came from a family distinguished for the number of its members in the religious life.

The Franciscan Education Conference was held June 29-30 July 1 at St. Joseph's Seminary in Hinsdale. The meeting brought together members of the Franciscan Order teaching in schools and seminaries throughout the country.

Young people of the state of Illinois gave enthusiastic support of the movement to promote the study of early Catholic history of Illinois as sponsored by a contest directed by the Catholic Union of Illinois. The reading of the prize winning essays were a part of the Union's convention at East St. Louis, May 20, 21 and 22.

Della Strada Chapel for the students of Loyola University, Chicago, was begun. The chapel, dedicated to Our Lady of the Wayside, is said to be one of the most artistic edifices of its kind in the country.

Four members of the Chicago clergy were honored with the title of Domestic prelate at the request of His Eminence Cardinal Mundelein. They were: The Rt. Rev. J. Gerald Kealy, D.D. the Right Rev. D. J. Dunne, D.D. and the Rt. Rev. David McDonald and the Rt. Rev. D. P. O'Brien, D.D. At the same time three Chicago parishes were rewarded by His Eminence for singular activity in behalf of the missions: St. Viator's, St. Sylvester's and St. Ignatius. Six priests were honored with the title of monsignor: The Very Rev. J. J. Horschburgh, the Very Rev. John Mielcarek, the Very Rev. W. A. Cummings, the Very Rev. P. F. Shewbridge, the Very Rev. W. F. Cahill and the Very Rev. Thomas F. Quinn.

A class of 150 negro converts was received into the church on April 15th at St. Elizabeth's church, Chicago, which has been given over entirely to the colored Catholics of Chicago. The Rev. Joseph F. Eckert, S. V. D. is pastor.

The Rev. Robert C. Maguire, one of the youngest members of the Chicago clergy, and for the past nine years professor at Quigley Preparatory seminary was made chancellor of the Archdiocese of Chicago by His Eminence Cardinal Mundelein.

A three days' celebration marking the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of their order was held by the Poor Clare sisters in their convent at 53rd and Laffin streets, Chicago. His Eminence Cardinal Mundelein was present at Pontifical Mass celebrated by Bishop Hoban.

The new Provident Hospital at 45th and Michigan, Chicago to be erected at a cost of \$1,000,000 was proposed to care for the medical needs of the colored people of Chicago.

First students of the Franciscan seminary at Lemont were ordained to the priesthood in April. Three young priests composed the class which was ordained by the Rt. Rev. E. F. Hoban.

The Illinois chapter of the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae held its seventh biennial convention at Loretto Academy, 1447 E. 65th street, Chicago, May 4, 5 and 6th.

The annual convention of the Knights of Columbus was held at Springfield, with headquarters at the St. Nicholas hotel in May.

The Rev. John W. Cummings, D. D., pastor of St. Patrick's church, Dwight, Ill., for five years, died May 19th at St. Mary's hospital, Streator.

The Sisters of Providence of St. Mary of the Woods, Ind. announced plans for the erection of a new high school and convent building at Central park avenue and Monroe street, Chicago, for the accommodation of 1,000 girls.

The second anniversary of the 28th International Eucharistic Congress was celebrated at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein in June, hundreds of persons attending.

The Rev. Jeremiah Donovan, chaplain of the Gurdian Angel Orphanage, Peoria, celebrated his 48th anniversary in the priesthood. Many friends felicitated the venerable chaplain on this event.

The convent of the Benedictine sisters of Perpetual Adoration was opened at Mundelein in June. The Sisters pray continually for the welfare of the priests and students of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

The golden jubilee of Brother Mulkerins, known for half a century spent at Holy Family church, Chicago, was celebrated in June.

Eight Chicagoans were among the young men ordained to the priesthood at St. Francis Xavier church, St. Louis.

The Margarita Club of Evanston was opened for the accommodation of Catholic Working Girls of Chicago and vicinity.

The Reverend Louis Selva, of Piper City, Ill. celebrated his golden jubilee in June and the occasion was made a civic as well as religious event.

The Rev. George Hensey, poet-priest of Carlinville, celebrated his 25th anniversary on June 21.

Seven Sisters of the Franciscan order who went from St. John's hospital, Springfield to the mission fields in China are reported safe from raids of bandits according to word from them.

The Very Rev. J. W. R. Maguire, C. S. V., widely known educator and social worker, was named president of St. Viator college.

The 50th anniversary of the Western Catholic Union was observed at the convention of the Order in Quincy in July.

The beautiful new Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception at Springfield was dedicated Oct. 14th by His Eminence Cardinal Mundelein. Scores of prelates, priests and people assisted in the three-day celebration of the event.

Two new high schools, Fox Valley for boys and Madonna for girls were dedicated at Aurora, Ill., by Bishop Hoban of Rockford diocese in September.

The death of the Rev. J. E. Shannahan, pastor of St. Michael's church, Galena, for 35 years, caused widespread sorrow.

The Rev. G. Blatter, pastor of SS. Peter and Paul church, South Chicago, resigned his pastorate to become a missionary in Afghanistan. He left Nov. 15th.

St. Columba's church and school for colored Catholics was solemnly dedicated at Cairo, Ill., on Thanksgiving day. The Rt. Rev. Henry Althoff officiated.

St. Mary's parish, Carlyle, Ill., celebrated its diamond jubilee on Thanksgiving day.

Book Reviews

Pere Marquette. By Agnes Repplier, New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, \$3.00.

This is a charmingly written book. One might expect nothing less from the recognized dean of American letters, whose essays have long since taken rank as one of the country's supreme achievements in this field of literature. But Miss Repplier's book is not merely good literature; it is also excellent biography. There is no pretense at scholarship or research; but the scholarly atmosphere is there all the same, and as for research one feels that the writer has thoroughly sifted the available sources, which, after all, as regards Marquette, are by no means extensive. In one brief but convincing chapter the writer discusses happily the question recently raised regarding the authorship of the narrative of the expedition of 1673 commonly attributed to Marquette, in which belief the author concurs. On the whole the book is marked by shrewd penetrating analysis, accuracy of statement, and vividness of portayal.

Until something even more admirable displaces it, Miss Repplier's *Pere Marquette* will take rank as the standard biography of the great missionary explorer whose joint achievement with Jolliet is one of the epoch-making events of our national history.

History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis in Its Various Stages of Development from A. D. 1673 to A. D. 1928. By Rev. John Rothensteiner, Archivist of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, Vol. I, pp. xviii+859, Vol. II, pp. 840, St. Louis, 1928. Price, \$10.00.

The appearance of Father John Rothensteiner's *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* is an event in the none too eventful career of Catholic historiography in the United States. We shall presently attempt an appraisal of this monumental work as a contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the great trans-Mississippi West; but, before doing so, it will be well to let the reader of this notice learn under what circumstances the work came to be projected and finally brought to a successful issue. In 1917 was founded the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis with the encouragement and under the auspices of Most Rev. John J. Glennon, the distinguished occupant of that metropolitan see. Its purpose was to collect and preserve materials of all kinds "relating to the Catholic history of the Diocese of St. Louis and of whatever territories and places that were, at any time, associated with St. Louis in the same ecclesiastical division, and

of instituting, carrying on, and fostering historical research on subjects pertaining to the field of inquiry above described and disseminating such information." With a view to attaining this praiseworthy end a quarterly review began to be issued by the Society and was continued for some years, gradually accumulating between its covers a noteworthy series of special first-hand studies on various phases of St. Louis archdiocesan history of the pioneer period. The bulk of these studies was contributed by a so-called Committee on Publication, four of them priests, and one a layman, all residents of St. Louis.

Meanwhile *The St. Louis Catholic Historical Review* and the activities of the society of which it was the organ were moving from the beginning, not so much by any concerted plan as by some inevitable drift of things, towards the realization of a great idea, the compilation, to-wit, of an adequate and authoritative history of the century-old archdiocese of St. Louis, which was the historic starting point of nearly all Catholic development in the upper Mississippi Valley. When the project assumed definite shape and there was need of choosing the hands that were to work at the task of throwing the vast mass of accumulated data into concrete literary form, a plan of co-operative authorship was at first conceived, the members of the Committee on Publication to work up individually separate sections of the material at hand. This plan was subsequently rejected and by a happy, and, one must say, providential issue of events, the labor of constructing the entire historical fabric in view came to devolve upon the competent hands of a single individual, the Rev. John R. Rothensteiner, pastor of the Holy Ghost Church, St. Louis, and one of the leading spirits from the beginning in the St. Louis Catholic Historical Society and Review. We have in the preface to the work before us the author's frank and, let it be said, unduly modest account of how he came to be commissioned to attack the problem single-handed. "The Committee had by May, 1925, arrived at a choice by way of elimination; the present writer was the only eligible member left. Either he must undertake the great and laborious work, or the whole undertaking must fail. There was no escape for me. I had no large literary work in view. I had parish work to do, a parochial school to manage, and a new school building to erect, and to raise the money for it. But other priests also had these things to do. I was approaching my sixty-sixth year, and my health was impaired though not yet broken. At last I yielded gracefully, as I thought, and promised to do my best; the Archbishop gave his approval and the assurance of his support. My friends of the Committee felt relieved and delighted. I might command whatever they had. There was to be no question as

to mine and thine between us. The history of the archdiocese was their sole object; as members of the Committee on Publication, they would do all they could to further the project."

It is interesting to note here that recent years have seen either the projecting or actual publication of several important sectional histories of the Catholic Church in the Middle United States. Mr. Joseph P. Thompson brought out in 1920 a history of the archdiocese of Chicago and has lately (1928) done a similar service for the diocese of Springfield, Ill. Father Lamott's *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati* appeared in 1921. Just now Father George Paré is engaged in a history from original sources of the diocese of Detroit, the publication of which will mark the centennial of that diocese in 1933, while it is hoped that the Indiana Catholic Historical Society, founded in 1926, will concentrate its efforts on the compilation of a history of the Catholic Church in that state in view of the approaching centennial of the Vincennes (at present Indianapolis) diocese in 1934. Little by little the colorful story of the upbuilding of Catholicism in the heart of mid-continental North America is being adequately put on record.

To return to the book under review, what especially arrests attention in Father Rothensteiner's treatment of his subject is its broad and even panoramic sweep. It is a big-scale picture, a vast canvas crowded with outstanding clerical figures all engaged in the glorious task of building up, stone by stone, the House of God in the world's most spacious and fertile valley. For the territory which the author admits within the framework of his story is by no means circumscribed by the present-day limits of the archdiocese of St. Louis. It takes in the whole vast area that at any time depended ecclesiastically on St. Louis, which means not merely the trans-Mississippi West, but also eastern Illinois and even, to a certain extent, the Pacific Northwest. There is, therefore, nothing contracted in the physical background against which the author's stirring narrative is set. The glamor of the old frontier rests upon its pages and in reading them one comes to realize what a drama Catholic development in the region ruled in *spiritualibus* from St. Louis turns out to be. And the figures that move across the stage, of what compelling interest they are!—Marquette, Joliet, Tonti, St. Cosme, Gravier, Pinet, Meurin, Gibault, Dunand, De Andreis, Van Quickenborne, Timon, Du Bourg, Rosati, Kenrick, and a host of others. Names such as these spell all the romance and charm, not to say the toils and sacrifices, that marked one of the great epical successes of history, the pioneering of the Old West.

It was largely, no doubt, the fact that St. Louis stood at the very gateway to upper Louisiana, the stage on which the drama of western pioneering was enacted, which made the Missouri metropolis the inevitable center of a great story, whether civil or ecclesiastical. Almost without exception every organized attempt in the pioneer period to penetrate the wilderness that lay toward the setting sun started from St. Louis. From here went forth Louis and Clark on their immortal expedition to the mouth of the Columbia; Manuel Lisa on his fur-trading journeys to the Big Horn country and the headquarters of the Missouri; Lieut. Zebulon Pike on his famous exploring trip that gave the first impetus to the Santa Fe trade; Astor's Overlanders on their tragic journey to the shores of the Pacific, and Major Long on his upper Missouri expedition, from which he brought back the fable of the Great American Desert, a fable that it took more than one generation of Americans to unlearn. In a word, almost every epic of adventure that marked the passing of the old frontier is written around St. Louis. The Santa Fé and Oregon trails struck out from Independence and Westport; but their real starting point lay behind them in St. Louis.

Now it was amid this human environment of adventurous pioneering that the Catholicism of the trans-Mississippi West came into being. Just as the explorers and the fur traders pushed out from St. Louis into the wilderness beyond for earthly glory or gain, so heralds of the Gospel went out from the same city in this direction and that. Practically all the journeys of missionary priests who gave the Church its first organization in various localities of the western country were planned and directed from the shabby little episcopal residence on Walnut street, where Bishop Rosati was on the alert to catch the Macedonian cries for help that came to him ever and anon from the scattered corners of his vast spiritual empire. In 1831 and 1832 Father Van Quickenborne, out of funds furnished him by Bishop Rosati, was making apostolic visits to both banks of the Mississippi above St. Louis, ministering in the Illinois villages and holding the first recorded Catholic services in the state of Iowa. In 1833 Father Benedict Roux reached "the mouth of the Kaw," the future Kansas City, writing thence to diocesan headquarters at St. Louis an absorbing record of nascent Catholicism on the Missouri frontier. The same year, 1833, saw Mr. Anson Taylor come down from Chicago to St. Louis, to return thither with Father St. Cyr, first resident priest of the upstart village that even then was beginning to fight its way forward to its present estate of the third city of the world. When Abraham Lincoln went up from New Salem to Springfield on a borrowed

horse in 1837, the future capital of Illinois was attached to Bishop Rosati's jurisdiction, the first priests to arrive there having come with commissions from the St. Louis prelate. Finally, when Father De Smet started in 1840 to pursue the windings of the Oregon Trail and open up the truth of the Gospel to the Indian tribes on the far side of the Rockies, he did so under a commission from Rosati and with the same prelate's spiritual "faculties" or powers in his hands. In fine, the story of the expansion of Catholicism west and to a certain extent east of the Mississippi revolves for a long spell around St. Louis, the "jumping-off place" of one spiritual foray after another into the darkness beyond, forays of deep significance and for many of us of more fascinating interest than the brave journeys of the traders and the trailblazers, for all their power to stir the imagination and quicken the emotions as we read the record of them today.

It is with incidents, situations, developments such as we have adverted to in the preceding paragraph that Father Rothensteiner's history largely deals. For sources of information he has drawn on a great mass of material partly printed, partly unprinted, in the shape of memoirs, journals, letters, baptismal and other registers, chancery records and ecclesiastical papers of all kinds, not to mention authoritative published accounts of the civil history of the West. A great complexity of source material was thus at hand, one that might easily have proved disconcerting to a less skillful hand. It is the merit of the author's treatment that he has assembled his multitudinous data into an ordered and connected whole, with plan and perspective and a sense of movement which brings home to one the steady and providential growth of the Church in the West up to the climax of its present day mature development. Incidentally, the reviewer should like to point out that Father Rothensteiner's method of building up his narrative largely out of the actual words of principals and witnesses in the drama adds palpably to its interest and vitality. Ellery Sedgwick not long ago ventured the opinion that the story of the past is best pieced together with extracts from journals, letters, and other documentary material contemporary with the events narrated. History, it has been finely said, is a "resurrection of the flesh"; and nothing serves better to recapture the mood and atmosphere of a vanished day and fix them, as far as human art can fix them, on the printed page, than the actual words of those who helped in some way, big or small, to make the past what it was.

The second volume of the work under review pictures the organized and settled archdiocese of St. Louis entering into the labors of its heroic and self-effacing founders and reaping in joy what was

planted so often in tears and travail. If this stage of the narrative lacks in a measure the charm which attaches to the earlier period, it is not on that account less important or fascinating. The truth is rather the reverse. Clarence Walworth Alvord, whose death a year ago was an irreparable loss to American historical scholarship, has noted that while historians are attracted to origins by reason of the atmosphere of romance which so often envelopes them, the later periods are often more brimful of instruction and solid interest; and this, he adds, is particularly true of American Catholic Church history in the nineteenth century. Father Rothensteiner's second volume shows us Catholic development in the archdiocese of St. Louis when the latter had become a smoothly functioning and highly effective piece of spiritual machinery, admirably equipped and appointed in every way for promoting God's kingdom on earth along every line of ministerial, philanthropic, and cultural endeavor.

We say only in conclusion that this new history is worthy of its subject. It is eminently readable, has all the earmarks of accuracy and research, and bears upon it the impress of finality. The work need never be done over again.



ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XI

APRIL, 1929

NUMBER 4

Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society

28 NORTH FRANKLIN STREET, CHICAGO

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHICAGO, ILL.

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Illinois Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME XI

APRIL, 1929

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FINANCING A CATHOLIC COLLEGE IN KANSAS IN 1850¹

St. Mary's Mission was founded by a small band of Jesuits who came originally from Belgium and received their American training in Maryland and Missouri. St. Mary's has the unique honor of being the oldest seat of learning and first mission center in all that immense territory known to the Government in 1826 as the Indian Country and extended from the banks of the Mississippi to California. It was from St. Mary's Mission (twenty-five miles west of Topeka) that the early missionary priests rode across the state bringing everywhere the consolations of religion to the scattered Indians and white settlers. A school had been built for Indian boys as early as 1829.

With the growth of the school grew its needs and activities, and it was not long before its peaceful and solitary environs were penetrated by the multifarious interests of business. Contact was established with the civilization that was crowding upon the eastern frontier of the Indian Territory ready to burst over the barriers in a thousand streams of diversified life; and even several years before Kansas Territory was opened up for settlement to the whites a brisk

¹ The material for this paper has been drawn from the unpublished records of the Jesuit Superior, Father John Baptist Duerinck, S. J. The manuscript copy (091, D87) is one of the several valuable documents in the archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas. Father Duerinck wrote in a clear, strong hand indicative of his business character. The book in which his diary was written measures nine and a half by seven and a half inches. It is strongly bound and the paper of excellent and durable quality. No doubt historians will consult the pages (forty-four in all) for many a year to come. Use was also made of the manuscript copy of: The Jesuits in the Kaw Valley, by Rev. John F. O'Connor, S. J. (091, De5.)

barter was carried on at the Mission with the throngs of emigrants to California in 1849, and after them with travelers, explorers, government officials, land speculators, strolling traders, and prowling adventurers.

FATHER DUERINCK SUPERIOR AND BUSINESS MANAGER—THE FARM

Father John Baptist Duerinck, S. J., the superior of St. Mary's since 1849, was the soul of the varied business life of St. Mary's. He was a farmer, cattle dealer, trader, broker, business or confidential agent, manager and one or two other characters all in one. The farm was the foundation of the other enterprises and supported the community. The meager government allowance of seventy-five dollars a year for each pupil and the alms collected in the states or sent from Europe were a negligible quantity. "With the scanty Government allowance," writes Father Gaillard, "any candid person will admit that it is very hard to board and clothe so many pupils and keep houses and furniture in repair. We are bound by our own labor to make up the deficiency. This is done by our lay Brothers; and owing to their unwearied industry and economy we are blessed with abundance."

"Our Farm," says Father Duerinck, in one of his annual reports to the Government, "as usual, is the support of the mission." He records in his diary for 1854 that on August 18th his mowing machine had just finished cutting all the grass in the fields, though the last load was not yet put up. In January of the next year he ordered a four-horse mowing machine of the model of 1855 from C. H. McCormick of Chicago, for which he offered to pay cash. He wished the fingers to have bearings and desired no less than three sickles, three drivers and plenty of sickle segments to repair. He further advised McCormick to send at least twelve mowers to his agent, Elijah Cody, of Weston, Missouri. This order is sufficient evidence that Father Duerinck was more than satisfied with the improved methods of cutting grass, for only two years before he had ordered of Cody and Baker of Weston, Missouri, "A grass-mowing machine propelled by horse power, said to cost one hundred dollars and manufactured in Chicago." The machine enabled him to cut sixty acres of oats in five days, and, adds Father Duerinck, "is the wonder of the country—the Indians are lost in admiration when they see it work."

THE EXODUS TO CALIFORNIA—TRADE.

It was in the beginning of Father Duerinck's administration that occurred the great exodus from the States to California. Thousands of gold hunters, with their mule teams, ox teams and cow teams passed through St. Mary's. At the time Independence, Missouri, was looked upon as the ultimate point of civilization, where the California emigrants had the last opportunity of supplying themselves with an overland outfit. As a consequence the demand for mules, oxen, horses and even cows was far beyond the supply, and everything that could pull a prairie schooner was bought. Frequently these animals were exhausted when they reached St. Mary's and had to be left behind to die or be exchanged. Many of these crippled beasts were of the best breed of stock from the middle states, and though some died, the majority of them recovered after a few weeks rest and were added to the "Mission Herd" which became widely famous.

FORT RILEY—TRADE

In 1853 Fort Riley was established forty-two miles west of St. Mary's near the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers. Almost immediately business relations were established between the fort and the college. In a letter quoted by Edward E. Hale in 1854 in his "Kansas and Nebraska," Father Duerinck writes, "The Government is establishing a new military post, Fort Riley, on the upper Kansas, fifty-one miles above the Mission; the Pottawatomie settlement is the nearest point from which the fort can draw its supplies. If our Indians were thrifty and enterprising, they would find a ready market for all the produce they can raise; but unfortunately the greater part of our people are glad when they have enough to supply their own wants. The Indians in our immediate vicinity are not in want, they have raised good crops of corn, potatoes, pumpkins and beans, without giving themselves much pains to do so." On October 20, 1855, Father Duerinck agreed with Alva Higbee, Benjamin H. Bertrand, L. R. Palmer and Peter Moos to deliver to H. A. Low, of Fort Riley, twenty-three hundred bushels of corn, Father Duerinck engaging to supply one thousand bushels and the other parties three hundred, five hundred, two hundred and three hundred bushels, respectively. Fifty-six pounds counted to the bushel, at ninety-five cents a bushel. H. A. Low was to furnish the sacks and the corn was to be ready for delivery in lots, November 20 to December 31, 1855.

Besides corn, the produce shipped to the fort from St. Mary's

included potatoes, onions, turnips, cabbage, beets, eggs, butter, maple sugar, garden seeds and hay. The Mission teams and Fort Riley wagons were used in the transportation. As many as ten wagons formed these freight trains, each wagon carrying from five hundred to six hundred younds of fodder. One of these "trains" hauled thirty-three thousand and ninety pounds of shelled corn and twenty three hundred pounds of hay, each of the ten wagons making six trips between the fort and St. Mary's traveling in all five hundred and four miles.

A few days after the contract referred to, Father Duerinck agreed to let Messrs. Majors and Russell have eight tons of hay at eight dollars a ton and the use of the yard to feed it to their teams. He further consented to store for them three hundred bushels of corn, in the ear, to feed their cattle in the months of November and December. They were to pay for the corn eleven dollars . . . "seventy-five dollars in all, of which J. B. Duerinck has received, at the hands of James S. Brown, forty dollars, in the presence of Mr. McCann, his companion."

The company contracted with was engaged in carrying freight over the western plains. In the course of their business they used as many as thirty-five hundred wagons and forty thousand oxen. The firm realized a profit of three hundred thousand dollars in the space of two years; from the beginning of 1855 till the close of 1856.

THE CATTLE INDUSTRY

Father Duerinck's cattle deals were extensive and varied. He agreed with A. G. Reed in August 1854, to feed and slaughter the commissary beef cattle of Fort Riley. For two hundred and twenty-five head of cattle, they were to receive the price of six thousand bushels of wheat, at one dollar and sixty cents a bushel. Moreover, they were to retain the hides and tallow for slaughtering and delivering at the fort. Father Duerinck, on his own account, was to add sixty head of beef cattle, weighing each six hundred pounds and was to be allowed seven cents a pound. The expenses of wintering and slaughtering were to be borne equally by the two partners. Two hundred beef hides and eleven barrels of tallow from Fort Riley were forwarded, on one occasion, by the Mission, through J. Roosa, to Messrs. Reese and Keith of Leavenworth, to be shipped to Waterman and Ryan of St. Louis.

THE MILL ENTERPRISES

That Father Duerinck was interested in a sawmill to be put up at Indianola would appear likely from the entries in his diary. For on August 25, 1857, he notes an order, through P. and B. Slevin, of St. Louis, on Messrs. Brown and Floyd, 174 North Second street, St. Louis, of round and square iron, a thirty-six-inch bellows and tuyere iron, to be shipped for the account of J. B. Duerinck, St. Mary's Mission, K. T., care of J. W. Skinner, Leavenworth, Kansas. In October he sent three teams to Leavenworth to haul the boiler and engine and promised a dollar and a half per hundred pounds for freight and notes that he "advances to Ferdinand Zeitz twenty-five dollars for his trip to Leavenworth City going after the mill."

Besides the mill at Indianola, Father Duerinck was interested in another one at Louisville, Kansas Territory. In July of this same year he notes that "Mr. Emory will be at St. Mary's Mission and Louisville on Saturday, July 25, when the mill question will be discussed and he offers to give ample room for mill purposes above Mr. Daniel's store on bank of the creek in town site." In November following he requested Captain F. Emory, Ogden, to forward to the mission the bond for the quarter section of land he has contracted to deed to J. B. Duerinck for putting up a sawmill and the grist mill in Louisville. . . . J. B. Duerinck will return the bond.

CONFIDENTIAL AND BUSINESS AGENT

Many inquiries come to Father Duerinck. Mr. Cyrus McCormick applied to Father Duerinck to recommend some reliable firm or person to undertake the agency for the McCormick farm implements. Father Duerinck answered that he "did not know whether any house in Leavenworth, such as Majors and Russell, Rees and Keith, J. Ha. and Company, would take the agency for his machines." But he recommended Mr. Manning R. Roll and wrote to Mr. Roll, through Mr. Thomas Ryan of St. Louis, to prevail on him to take the agency.

In 1857, Father Duerinck sent to Madamiselle Marie Colange, Chateaugay, pres, Rion, Puy de Dome, France, a power of attorney to sell a coal mine belonging to Madam Lucille Mathevon, one of the Sacred Heart nuns at St. Mary's Mission.

Father Duerinck's reputation for business capacity and his readiness to oblige all occasioned many demands on his time and services. Whether it was selling a coal mine in France or collecting a bill of a few dollars for an Indian or buying a hat for a friend, his credit

and experience were at the service of all. The following list of items will give you some idea of the various nature of the favors he was called on to render. He bought in St. Louis and shipped to Leavenworth City, for Bishop Miede, eighteen cane bottom chairs, a lot of carpeting and groceries, an iron safe, two pieces of black summer cloth; a hat for Father Beslor; traveling expenses of Mother Bridget Spalding and companions to Louisville, Kentucky, and back to the Mission; mules, harness and a carriage.

In August, 1857, Father Duerinck bought Mr. John Lasley's claim on Rock Creek, with the stipulation, on the part of Lasley, that Doctor Luther R. Palmer might be permitted to purchase the forty acres adjoining his own property. "J. B. Duerinck has borrowed a house of Francis Bergeron, which he is to move on his claim and to put it up, for which I have paid him in hand, on the spot, (he breaking the prairie), the sum of thirty-five dollars, as a consideration in full." A few weeks later Bergeron was at work putting up a cabin on the Lasley claim, which was the southwest quarter of section 17, township 9 south, range 10 east of the sixth principal meridian. On September 30, Father Duerinck forwarded to J. W. Whitefield, at Doniphan, Kansas Territory, his declaration of intention to pre-empt the above mentioned section of land and enclosed a dollar in gold as a fee.

These claims were known as "squatter claims" and were made under the pre-emption laws of the United States, entitling American citizens to one hundred and sixty acres of land as a homestead, providing they settled on the land and built a home. Up to this time there was no survey of lands in Kansas Territory and no legal descriptions of the parcels of land on which to base claims. The squatters staked out their claims and marked them by putting up a rude cabin or bringing timber or logs for such a cabin or in some cases placing four logs on the ground for the future building. As there were no laws and no courts, when Kansas Territory was opened up to white settlement, various associations of squatters were formed, such as The Squatters Claim Association, The Actual Settlers Association and others of like purposes, which undertook to lay down the conditions on which members of the associations could take out claims and be protected by the association in their possession of them.

GOVERNMENT REPORTS

When Colonel Isaac Winston, of Mitchell's Station, Culpeper County, Virginia, the Indian agent, was leaving St. Mary's for Wash-

ington, Father Duerinck sent by him to the Indian Office a copy of his Indian politics, which the colonel promised to recommend to the department. He sent a copy of the annual report of St. Mary's Mission direct to Colonel Manypenny, Washington, D. C., fearing that the duplicate copy sent to Major Clarke might not reach Washington in time and requested that the published reports be mailed to St. Mary's via Leavenworth. He wrote to the Boston Pilot asking them to publish the same report, a summary of which he sent to the paper. About a week later he mailed two dollars to the Pilot for several copies of the issue containing his reports.

PROSPERITY OF THE INSTITUTION

As the busy mission school prospered, help was extended to other communities at various times. Two thousand dollars were given to the noviciate at Florissant; four hundred and fifty dollars to the superior of the Sacred Heart nuns; five hundred dollars to the Osage Mission; two thousand dollars were lent to the province without interest; a hundred dollars were contributed for a monument to Mother Duchesne, December 29, 1856, one thousand francs were subscribed through the Provincial, Father Druyts, for a monument of St. Ignatius, at Rome.

MISFORTUNE: DEATH OF FATHER DUERINCK—DIARY ENDS

But good fortune did not always attend on the steps of Father Duerinck, as the following item in his diary shows. "Informed Mr. W. C. Webster on the Garrett place, on Big Blue, that his note, in favor of Hugh Jackson for one hundred dollars, payable the 15th of August, 1857, for value received, had been lost on November 24th. Informed also Mr. W. W. Martin, on Wild Cat Creek, that his two notes, in my favor, one for seventy-five dollars and other for ninety dollars, each of them due and payable on the 1st of October, 1857, have been lost by William Phelps, beyond Grinvares place, on November 24th, 1857. Requested all of them to stop the payments of these notes and hoping that they will act the part of gentlemen with me and not take advantage of my messenger's misfortune or connive at any fraud to which my interest is exposed. Will wait their convenience to pay."

On the same day on which he recorded this loss of the three notes, in answer to the summons of the Vice Provincial, Father Druyts, to repair to St. Louis, he answered: "I intend to go to Leavenworth and thence to St. Louis, in the course of this week." A few days later, November 30, Father Duerinck left the Mission

for Florissant, Missouri, to make his Tertianship or third year of probation, which priests of the Society of Jesus make before taking their final vows. He had on his person fifty-eight dollars for traveling expenses. He had expected to get a boat at Leavenworth for St. Louis but finding on arrival that he had been misinformed, he took the stage at Leavenworth for Kansas City, with the hope of catching a boat at Liberty, Missouri. At Wyandotte he fell in with a party of five men who were about to go down the river in a small flatboat. He joined them. A little above Independence landing the boat struck a snag and was upset. All were thrown into the icy water. Three of the men managed to hold onto the boat and were caught on a sandbar, whence they were rescued. Though an expert swimmer, Father Duerinck sank a number of times, then suddenly disappeared beneath the sullen flood. Two others were lost with him.²

St. Marys, Kansas.

ARTHUR T. DONOHUE, A. M.

² St. Mary's Mission, whose financial problems have been described in this short paper, later developed into the well-known Jesuit institution of higher learning, St. Mary's College, Kansas. Even the old ledgers preserved at the college give an interesting account of the early struggles of the pioneer priests of Kansas. The writer has in preparation a second article: History from an Old Ledger.

COLONIAL MARYLAND

(Concluded)

With the advent of Puritan power, the Church was the greatest sufferer. At St. Marys and St. Inigoes, where the Catholic population was the largest, the fury of the invaders was most manifest. After killing several of the Catholics, they called for the death of the priests, who had escaped in a small boat. The residence of the priests was forced open and robbed of all its church furniture and books, and everything pertaining to the ministry of the altar. For more than a year the Jesuit missionaries were refugees in Virginia, undergoing the greatest wants and sufferings, and at the risk of their lives ministering to the Catholic of Virginia, and returning by stealth at intervals to assist those of Maryland. This continual suffering of the missionaries had long been accepted as a part of their lot in the colony. A few years later (1672), it was computed that fourteen Fathers and three Brothers had been carried off by death. Of the Fathers, eight had died under the age of forty, proving the hardships of the mission life. By actual experience it was found that a missionary could not endure the work in the colony for over ten years; and it was accounted prudence in most cases to recall a priest to England after seven years of service.

Despite the annoyances and persecutions of the times, many converts were brought into the fold, fifty being mentioned for 1671 and seventy-four for the following year. Some of the converts were among the representative people of the province and received Baptism with the full knowledge that their change of faith would bring upon them and their families untold hardships and persecutions. It was this growing strength of the Church under the most adverse circumstances that awoke such bitter feelings in the minds of the Anglicans and Puritans, and aroused them to call for even greater persecutions of the Catholics.

Charles Calvert, the only son and heir of Cecil Calvert, and the Third Lord Baltimore, came to the province as governor in 1661. He had not the political foresight and judgment of his father, but was a just and faithful administrator; and under him the colony prospered, and the Indian troubles, which for a time were imminent, passed away. There were outbursts of a minor character against the Catholics, but on the other hand many of the laws against them and the

practice of their religion were not enforced. Although Clayborne had disappeared from the colony, there were rumors of his power and hostility. But for the present there was an unusual peace in the land; and the benign laws continued to attract many from the less peaceful colonies of the Dutch and English.

One of the commercial troubles of the time resulted from the over-production of tobacco. There was no money in the province, and tobacco was the only means of barter and exchange. But owing to the political troubles in England the markets for tobacco were closed and the large quantities could not be consumed at home. Moreover, many of the settlers had neglected other useful avocations to give their entire time to the tobacco fields; and many rich hides were allowed to spoil and rot because there was no one to gather tan-bark for the tanneries.

Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, died in 1665. For more than thirty years he had guided the protected the Maryland colony without once visiting it. He was a shrewd, calculating, diplomatic man. Being a convert and unacquainted with Canon Law, he blundered at times in dealing with the missionaries who were so helpful, not only for the spiritual but for the temporal good of the province. He not only failed to carry out the promises of his father, but went so far in his demands that the missionaries were deprived of their just rights in the exercise of their ministry and the possession of their properties. As the Jesuits would not cede their rights of property and insisted on "ecclesiastical immunity" in the exercise of the ministry, the Proprietary brought in members of the secular clergy and the Jesuits were recalled to Europe. But the secular priests also refused to be a tool in the hands of one who, even though well-meaning, infringed upon the rights of the Church. After a short service, they, too, left the colony, and the Catholics were deprived of all spiritual ministrations. At this juncture the Jesuits agreed to return and even to cede certain property rights, but they were instructed by the General at Rome not to yield in anything which would impair the privileges and prerogatives of the Church.

Cecil Calvert endeavored to force laws upon the colony which were unsuited to the people, and this against the conditions of the charter which left the colony free to make its own laws. However, during those thirty years of his rule and his care for a distant province, he exercised the most striking gifts of leadership. He had the double disadvantage of meeting the problems which arose from the political changes in England, and the solving of the difficulties which

of necessity came from the formation of a new colony. It is marvelous how well he succeeded; and considering the long years of his power and the manifold political and economic problems of his time, and the success with which he met them and solved the difficulties, he must be ranked as one of the greatest and best statesmen of the colonial period.

Charles Calvert, who succeeded his father in power, had not the stern qualities of leadership which were necessary to meet the coming evils of the province. Politically he saw his power gradually diminish; nor was he able to protect his Catholic subjects in the chartered rights of political and religious freedom. He lived to a venerable old age and died in 1714. Thus he and his father, Cecil, held the office and power of Proprietary for eighty years. While their rights were threatened during the political upheavals in England, and while it was impossible at times for them to exercise the full power which the charter conferred, still many of the privileges of the two Proprietaries remained intact during this long period. Under the benign influence of these two rulers the Catholic settlers were able to practice their religion although the laws forbade them to do so. Priests remained in the colony and ministered to the spiritual wants of the people, even though their presence was against the new statutes. The laws against the Catholics could not have been enforced with great severity, when, even at the approach of the Revolutionary War many of them were rich in worldly goods and held great plantations. Among them Charles Carroll of Carrollton was conspicuous; for not only was he powerful in political life, but was probably one of the richest men in the colonies; and in time of dire necessity at Valley Forge, when all other resources failed the despondent Washington, it was the advice and the money of Carroll that brought the needed help.

After the Orange Revolution in England (1690) a Protestant Governor was appointed for Maryland, Sir Lionel Copley, who proceeded at once to pass a law making the Protestant religion the official religion of the land. Often the lowest class of ministers represented the Established Church, and by drunkenness and open immorality did much to lower the status of religion in the estimation of the people.

As time passed, the laws against Catholics and priests became more stringent; and we are not surprised to find enactments forbidding priests or Jesuits from endeavoring to convert any Protestants, or from saying Mass, or exercising any Catholic function, or keeping school. And by a cruel device, Catholic children who rebelled against

the parents and became Protestants could demand maintenance of their parents. After suppressing all Catholic schools at home, an effort was made to pass a law forbidding the education of Catholics in schools of their own creed abroad; but the measure was unsuccessful and many Catholic youths passed from Maryland to Europe, especially to the well known college at St. Omers.

In 1692 the Protestant Episcopal Church became the established form of religion in the province, and every land holder in the colony was taxed for its support.¹ With some alterations this law was enforced until the American Revolution.² In 1702 Quakers and Puritans were allowed the free exercise of their religion, but they were taxed for the support of the English Church. Catholics were forced to pay the religious tax, but were refused the liberty of practicing their religion. For many years the ministers of the Established Church were hirelings and court favorites, utterly unworthy of their calling as ministers; much of their time being spent not only in amusements of fox-hunting and horseback riding, but in gambling and drunkenness. The depravity of the Protestant preachers drove many converts into the Catholic Church; and this only served to irritate those in political power, and augment the persecutions of the Catholic inhabitants.

In 1716 no one who held office in the colony could be present at any Catholic assembly, or join with Catholics at the service of Mass, or receive the sacraments. Nor could he execute any office or commission, or be put in any place of trust, until he had become a member of the Church of England. Catholics could not hold office, nor could they exercise their right of voting.³ So heavy was the yoke which pressed upon the Catholics, that we find them negotiating with the Spanish ambassador to leave the colony and settle in some province under Spanish dominion.

¹ In 1692 Catholics of Maryland were taxed for the support of the Ministers of the Church of England. See "Maryland Archives, Vol. 13, p. 425.

² In 1699 the infamous "test oath" was required of all who wished to hold office. This oath demanded a denial of the doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament, etc., and thereby excluded all Catholics from office. See "Maryland Archives," Vol. 8, p. 17, 448; vol. 26, pp. 240, 630.

³ The Episcopalian Governor Sharpe, although he was a witness of the many injuries which the Catholics of Maryland were forced to endure, bore testimony to the fact that the Catholics were more loyal than the Protestants. See Maryland Archives, vol. 2, p. 315.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

It is a pleasure to turn from the political intrigues and religious persecutions of the times to an account of the social life of the people. While the Catholics did not enjoy the full advantages of citizenship, and were not always welcome in the homes of others, they were fortunately grouped in the counties bordering on St. Marys, and were sufficiently numerous to find companionship among those of their own faith; and being isolated from the Protestant communities they were often left undisturbed in both their social and religious interests. With them religious services and feasts were occasions of much conviviality. It had ever been a custom in old England to have the pleasures and recreation of the people center around Church festivities; and many of the innocent amusements of their ancestors were duplicated in Maryland. From across the bays and creeks came sail-boats and flat-boats, and along the bridle paths rode men and women on horseback, with little children clinging to their parents. It was a long way to reach church, and before and after the services there were friendly discussions, interchanges of political views, and warnings of drastic laws. It was a time for children to play beneath pine and oak trees, and for lovers to whisper words long locked up in distant hearts. High upon the trunk of a tree would be posted notices of sales of property or household commodities; or there would be an announcement of a picnic, or dance, or oyster-bake, or candy-pulling. Often these social meetings were under the auspices of some religious society, and were intended to raise money for the altar or for other church expenses. Within the building there was a list of the families who were to bring the meals for the priest and corn for his horse.

But not all the social life was centered around the church, although most of the social events were announced there. The fall and winter dances were popular amusements, although the people were scattered over a wide area, the men were dexterous with boats and thought nothing of a fifty-mile sail for a dance. Nor did the women think it a hardship to ride ten or more miles through the pine woods; for their horses were trusty animals and needed but little guiding on the darkest night. The people never tired of dancing the Virginia Reel, which maintained its popularity until after the Civil War. The music was simple, and one slave with a fiddle and another with a banjo met the full demands of those primitive pleasure seekers. At all dances refreshments were served, but such as could be supplied from the vicinity. Walnuts and hickory nuts, with maple-sugar or candy made of molasses, were welcome during the intervals of the dance.

No farm was far away from a boat-landing with a channel deep enough for ocean vessels; or if the water was shallow, large scows were anchored off-shore to await the loading or unloading of the ships. These landings were favorite places for the men to meet and discuss every possible topic of the day. As the ships could not be counted on with regularity, the farmers came day after day to see to the interests of their tobacco, corn, or meat, which they had brought to the landing for shipment to England or perhaps to some New England port. More than a hundred ships sailed from the colony in prosperous years.

The most invigorating of the sports was fox-hunting; and not only the men, but many of the women were adepts in following the game through woods and thick brush, and in swimming their horses across creeks and bays. Raccoons were hunted by lantern light and with the help of well trained dogs.

We find a pleasant picture of the lives of the people of Maryland in a well known history of the colony:

“Most of the houses were log cabins; the wealthier planters, however, built of brick. The large, highly glazed, russet or chocolate-colored bricks, found in the very old houses, were not, as is commonly supposed, imported from England, but made on the spot. It is doubtful whether a single house was built of imported brick. The brick-maker went to the intended site, hunted for suitable clay, and then and there made and burned his brick until enough were provided. Even now, in parts of the Eastern Shore, wherever we find an old brick house, or the site of one, we are pretty sure to find one or more circular shallow pits near at hand, from which the clay was taken, and often traces of the ancient kiln.

“Aristocracy proper there was none, and yet the society was aristocratic; that is, it was distinctly a society of families. The wealthier planters lived in greater style, had a larger house, more land, more servants, more of everything, except money—nobody had any of that—than his poorer neighbor, but this was pretty much all the difference in the seventeenth century. . . Both were, as nearly as might be, self-contained, and each was a little community. The family was the center of all interest and devotion. As children grew up they helped to extend the area of cultivation, or married and settled on the land. Poor relations were prized and valuable members of the family, which prospered the more, the more it increased. The young, penniless fellow who came over in 1634, by 1660 was a prosperous country gentleman, with broad acres around him, his sons’ farms girdling his

own, and his family connected by inter-marriages with his neighbors for miles around. Nowhere was the marriage bond held in higher reverence than in tidewater Maryland; and even now Maryland is the only state in which no marriage is legally valid without some religious sanction.

"Boundless hospitality was a matter of course. Any guest was more than welcome, for at least he brought novelty, and the news of the outside; and perhaps if he had been at St. Marys and talked with the captain of a Bristol ship, he could tell of the Dutch and French wars. Or perhaps he was an arrival from England, and at night, when all gathered around the hearth of blazing logs, and the candles of fragrant myrtle-berry wax were lighted, and the sack posset or rum pouch was handed around, he could give the ladies some scraps of the gossip of Whitehall or Hampton Court, or describe the fashions which still live on the canvasses of Lely and Kneller.

"Everybody, high and low, thus living on his farm, towns could not grow. St. Marys, the capital, and the only town till near the close of the century, on its beautiful plateau in the arms of St. George's River, with a fine harbor in front and land behind gradually rising almost to hills, seemed marked out by nature for the site of a prosperous commercial city; yet as late as 1678 it was hardly a town at all, but a settlement straggling along the shore for five miles, with not above thirty houses . . . The reason of this was the Chesapeake Bay, which shaped the whole life of tidewater Maryland and gave a special character to the people. That magnificent sheet of water, indenting the shores with innumerable river-mouths, coves, creeks, and inlets, gave the Marylanders boundless facilities for intercommunication, and made the town, or village, as a common rallying point, unnecessary. The planter needed no ports, when ships from London or Bristol, Boston or Jamaica, brought wine, sugar, salt-fish, English and Dutch wares, to his very door, and loaded tobacco and maize at his own wharf. The town of St. Marys, or later Ann Arundel, was the place where the courts were held and public business transacted, but it was nothing more. The town as a center of political and social life was not known in Maryland." (Browne, p. 165-67.)

In many of the districts where the Catholics were not numerous, and where their Protestants neighbors unfriendly, the Church services were held within private residences. It was considered an honor to have the Holy Sacrifice offered up within the walls of a Catholic home; and everything was done to give the room the appearance of a chapel or church, the temporary altar being decorated with wild

flowers which the people brought in profusion. In other localities where the Catholics were numerous, they were allowed to have a church edifice. In these localities not only was Mass offered up on Sundays and holidays, but such devotions as the Forty Hours were carried out with befitting dignity; and the priests were edified by the devotion and sacrifice of the people who came long distances to take their assigned places for adoration.

About 1749 the Jesuits opened a boarding school for boys at Bohemia. Many of the students received there a classical education which prepared them to do effective work at St. Omer's in Flanders. The school at Bohemia continued for some years, and had on its list such honored names as Robert Brent, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and John Carroll, the future Archbishop of Baltimore. The records of the day also mention several young ladies of the best families who sought admission into the convents in Europe.

At this time two trials came to the Catholics which caused them disappointment and sorrow. The first was the removal of the seat of government.⁴ The city of St. Marys was not easy of access, and as early as 1683 there was talk of transferring the capital to Ann Arundel; and ten years later it was taken to Annapolis. In vain did the people of St. Marys plead for the first city to remain the seat of government; all their petitions and remonstrances were useless, and the city on the Severn became the capital of Maryland. Be it said to the shame and disgrace of the non-Catholic inhabitants of Annapolis, that such was their animosity towards their Catholic fellow citizens, that no Catholic was permitted to walk along the street in front of the new capital building. And this in Maryland! This in Maryland, that first unfolded the flag of religious liberty! But wait! Wait in patience! Wait in long suffering! The time will come when a Madison will write the amendments to the New Constitution of the United States; and the first of those amendments will give to its people that boon of religious liberty of which the Catholics of Maryland were the banner bearers!

The second humiliation which came to the Catholics was the apostacy of Benedict Leonard Calvert, the fourth Lord Baltimore. In the political changes of England he found his colony slipping from his power; and to claim the friendship and protection of the king, he bartered the sacred right of his religion. However, the traitor to his

⁴Not only was the seat of government moved from the city of St. Marys, but the Anglicans seized the chapel and converted it into a Protestant place of worship. See Maryland Archives, vol. 26, p. 46.

God died (1715) in less than a year after his apostacy, leaving to his son his political power and the fruits of his evil life. Both his son and grandson followed in the ways of Benedict Leonard. Frederick Calvert, the sixth and last Lord Baltimore, was altogether unworthy of the name he bore. He was not interested in the colony, and sought from it only an income to support him in a degenerate life. He left no legitimate issue, and with him the title expired; but an illegitimate son, Henry Harford, for a while retained some of the power and wealth of the Baltimores.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there were in Maryland about 8,000 Catholics out of a population of 90,000 white people and 30,000 negro slaves. In 1758 we find an attempt made by the Catholics to leave Maryland and form a settlement in Louisiana. Their condition at this period is represented as being on the level with that of the negroes. Catholics had not the privilege of voting for the persons to represent them in the assembly.

THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

Although Maryland was far from the scene of the French and Indian Wars, the colony did not escape the taxations and miseries of the times. Whatever legislation and persecution had been directed against the Catholics during time of peace were renewed and augmented, especially in wars with France; and while there was no proof of the Catholics favoring the French, it was taken for granted that they would help their co-religionists. The Maryland assembly neglected the defense of the country, and devoted time and energy in legislating against the Catholic population. After the defeat of Braddock it was rumored that the French and their Indian allies were coming to carry devastation into Maryland; but it was only a false alarm, for the enemy had not the men to take advantage of their victory at Fort du Quesne, and were later driven from this point of vantage.

As the inevitable struggle with the colonies approached, England wished to strengthen her hold upon Canada, and by favorable legislation known as the "Quebec Act" (1774) that country was given full liberty in religion and an extension of territory west and south to the Mississippi River, including even a part of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Historians have agreed that there were many causes leading to the break with England, but after the lapse of time the more evident does it become that the Quebec Act played an all-important part. If ever a nation blundered it was the American colo-

nies in dealing with Canada at this critical moment. While in sermons, speeches, and printed pages the Catholic religion was reviled throughout the colonies, and England was reprobated for giving the Catholics of Canada religious freedom, by a strange contradiction Washington and the Continental Congress were appealing to Canada in the most pathetic terms to join with America and overthrow the power of England. The Canadians plainly saw the contradictions and hypocrisy of the action of the leaders in the colonies and cast their lot with England; not even the power and influence of Carroll of Carrollton could avert the disaster.

Although the French and Indian War ended with a complete victory for England and gave her the possession of the country from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi River, the national debt had been greatly increased. To meet these growing expenses, England decided on a policy of taxation for the American colonists, although her best statesmen, like Burke, declared against such action. The Port-Duty Act of 1764 aroused the colonists, but it was not until the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765 that the country became thoroughly incensed; and Hood, a Marylander, who had during his stay in England received the position of stamp collector, was attacked in his home in Annapolis and forced to seek safety in New York. When the first assignment of stamps arrived, as there was no officer to take charge of their distribution or even to receive them, they were shipped back to England.

When the next assembly met resolutions were drawn up that the people of Maryland were free Englishmen and that by the privilege of their charter they were free from all royal taxation.

A letter from Massachusetts inviting all the colonies to a joint meeting to consider the difficulties was acted on unanimously. After the Boston Tea Party and the punishment of New England by the Port-Bill and other enactments, the people of Maryland joined with the other colonists in a general non-importation movement; and when a boat arrived at Annapolis in October, 1774, the master was forced to burn his own craft, while the crowd stood around and cheered. On the following July, the Maryland Convention again assembled and by resolutions made it known that the people of the Province were ready to resist by armed force any encroachment of England upon the rights of the free citizens of the colonies. This was equivalent to a declaration of war if England continued her policy of taxation and oppression. However, the people of Maryland were still attached to the mother country and hoped for a peaceful settlement of the diffi-

culties. When the first delegates from Maryland went to the Continental Congress, they were instructed to seek for a reconciliation with England and understood that they had no power to declare for separation. In June, 1776, the delegates were recalled to Maryland, and the whole question of settlement was put before the people. At a motion of Charles Carroll all restrictions on the delegates were removed, and they were free to act with the other colonies and declare complete freedom. On the 3rd of July, 1776, there was drawn up:

A DECLARATION OF THE DELEGATES OF MARYLAND:

“To be exempted from the Parliamentary taxation, and to regulate their internal government and polity, the people of this colony have ever considered as their inherent and inalienable right; without the former, they can have no property; without the latter, no security for their lives or liberties.

“The Parliament of Great Britain has of late claimed an uncontrollable right of binding these colonies in all cases whatever; to enforce an unconditional submission to this claim, the legislative and executive powers of that State have invariably pursued for these ten years past a steadier system of oppression, by passing many impolitic, severe and cruel acts for raising a revenue from the colonists; by depriving them in many cases of the trial by jury; by altering the chartered constitution of our colony, and the entire stoppage of the trade of its capital; by cutting off all intercourse with the colonies; by restraining them from fishing on their own coasts; by extending the limits of, and erecting an arbitrary government in the Province of Quebec; by confiscating the property of the colonists taken on the seas, and compelling the crews of these vessels, under the pain of death, to act against their native country and their dearest friends; by declaring all seizures, detention, or destruction of the persons or property of the colonists, to be legal and right.

“A war unjustly commenced hath been prosecuted against the united colonies with cruelty, outrage, violence, and perfidy; slaves, savages, and foreign mercenaries have been meanly hired to rob a people of their liberties, and lives; a people guilty of no other crime than deeming the last of no estimation without the secure enjoyment of the former; their humble and dutiful petitions for peace, liberty, and safety have been rejected with scorn; secure of and relying on foreign aid, not on his national forces, the unrelenting monarch of Britain hath at length avowed, by his answer to the city of London, his determined and inexorable resolution of reducing these colonies to abject slavery.

“Compelled by dire necessity, either to surrender our properties, liberties, and lives into the hands of a British King and Parliament, or to use such means as will most probably secure to us and our posterity those invaluable blessings,—

“We, the delegates of Maryland, in Convention assembled, do declare that the King of Great Britain has violated his compact with this people and they owe no alliance with him. We have therefore thought it just and necessary to empower our delegates in congress to join with a majority of the united colonies in declaring them free and independent States, in framing such further confederation between them, in making foreign alliances, and in adopting such other measures as shall be judged necessary for the preservation of their liberties; provided the sole and exclusive rights of regulating the internal polity and government of this colony be reserved for the people thereof. We have also thought proper to call a new Convention, for the purpose of establishing a government in this colony. No ambitious views, no desire of independence, induced the people of Maryland to form a union with the other colonies. To procure an exemption from parliamentary taxation, and to continue to the legislatures of these colonies the sole and exclusive right of regulating their internal polity, was our original and only motive. To maintain inviolate our liberties and to transmit them unimpaired to posterity, was our duty and first wish; our next, to continue connected with, and dependent on, Great Britain. For the truth of these assertions, we appeal to that Almighty Being who is emphatically styled the searcher of hearts, and from whose omniscience nothing is concealed. Relying on His divine protection and affiance, and trusting to the justice of our cause, we exhort and conjure every virtuous citizen to join cordially in the defence of our common rights, and in maintenance of the freedom of this and her sister colonies.”

In this memorable document did Maryland through her chosen representatives declare her civil rights, break with the mother country, and throw her destinies with the other colonies. But as the war was fought, she refused to enter into a permanent union with the other colonies until every state right was clearly defined and guaranteed. Maryland was a prime mover in that essential conception of our Constitution which was to give to the central power only certain rights, and to retain for the State government those powers which were considered of sectional import. While the army was engaged in the field, the legislators were busy in endeavoring to bring about

political agreements and polity. The insistence of Maryland on State rights kept her from joining the other colonists until March 1, 1781.

So strong was the feeling against Catholics that many were unwilling to accept the proffered help of the Catholic French; and it was only after the French Army and especially the French Navy cooperated with the colonial troops, and brought about the surrender of Yorktown, that religious animosity began to wane.

In the midst of the excitement and preparation for war the most influential leader in Maryland was Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By his speeches and writings, and still more by the forceful energy of his statesmanship, he directed his fellow citizens in their doubts and struggles. With prophetic vision he saw that the break with England would be lasting; he risked his fortune and his life for the colonies and signed the Declaration of Independence.

MARYLAND'S PART IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the population of Maryland was 200,000, the growth during the preceding twenty years being nearly 50,000; but nearly a fourth were negro slaves, and therefore not eligible for military service. By 1782 the white population of the state had risen to 170,688; and at the time of adoption of the Constitution the number had reached 208,649. During the opening year of the war Maryland sent 1,704 regulars and 1,592 militia. Two years later 3,307 regulars went from the state, but no militia, showing that the enlistment and organization of regular troops had gone on with remarkable success. In all, Maryland sent 15,229 regulars and 5,407 militia, or a total of 20,636 soldiers to fight for the independence of the country.

The first riflemen who went out from Maryland were expert shots and were so sure of the skill of their companions that they held in their hands the targets for practice. They wore hunting shirts and leggings, with hats turned up at one side. From their belts hung tomahawks and knives. Many of these men, impatient at the slow progress of forming companies, went as volunteers to Boston. Equipment of all kinds was scarce, and one of the first duties of the Board of War was to look to a supply of saltpetre for the manufacture of powder. From many quarters came men who could turn out stocks for rifles, while small factories sprang up to make the barrels and other parts of the guns. Not only was talent found within the State for casting cannon for the Maryland troops, but the State was asked to furnish pieces of artillery for the Continental Army.

Early in the campaign of June, 1776, when Lord Howe moved on to New York with his army of 30,000 men, two regiments from Maryland had the honor of bearing the first blunt of battle in opposing the English; for of all the troops which had come to assist Washington, he found the Marylanders the best trained. Five hundred sons of Maryland perished in the vain efforts to stop the march of the enemy. Later at the storming of Fort Washington, the Maryland and Virginia riflemen won singular honors; had all the other divisions fought with the same bravery, the important position would have been held against the advance of Howe. As the scene of action moved south and centered around Philadelphia, several regiments of the Maryland men were engaged in the unsuccessful efforts to save the city; and finally with their numbers greatly decreased, they took up a position near Wilmington, while the greater part of the army of Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

On the retreat of the English from Philadelphia (1778) under Clinton, the Marylanders had a prominent part in driving the enemy from the field of Monmouth. To the southern campaigns, beginning early in the year 1779, Maryland sent 2,000 veteran soldiers under Generals Smallwood and Gist; but owing to the poor judgment and later the cowardice of General Gates, the American cause suffered a staggering blow in the Battle of Camden. In vain did the picked troops from Maryland and Virginia charge the English lines, the former division alone losing 600 of her bravest and best trained men. A special vote of Congress was sent to Smallwood and Gist, who shared with the Maryland troops the dangers and privations of this campaign. Under the skillful Morgan in the Battle of Cowpens (Jan. 17, 1781) the Maryland regiments fared better. Before the battle they were reminded by Morgan of the confidence he had always reposed in their skill and courage, and he assured them that victory was certain if they acted their part. Cowpens ended in a complete victory for the Americans, the British infantry being killed or captured almost to a man. In the beginning of the war the Maryland and Virginia troops, like so many of their companions in arms, relied on their skill with the rifle; but as the fighting went on and improved guns with bayonets were put into their hands, they became equally expert in deadly charges. In the Battle of Eutaw Springs (Sept. 8, 1781) they out-fought the enemy and gained a bloody victory by first withstanding the shock of the English and then in a hand to hand struggle driving them from the field.

While the southern section of the country was defending itself

against the inroads of the English, more important events were shaping themselves for the final battle of the war. The French fleet with twenty-three thousand men co-operated with Washington, who had skillfully concentrated his soldiers to entrap and capture the entire army of Cornwallis encamped at Yorktown. The story need not be repeated here; but on that eventful 19th of Oct., 1781, the English commander surrendered his army of seven thousand men to Washington.

A few days after his victory Washington passed through Annapolis. The legislature was in session at the time; "and to greet Washington on his arrival, they passed a vote of thanks, and appointed a committee to deliver an address on their behalf. A splendid entertainment was provided, and, during the two days which he tarried there, the venerable city, crowded to overflowing with happy spectators, presented one constant scene of enthusiastic rejoicing. She had the proud honor of first 'saluting him as the patriot, the hero, and the savior of his country.' Maryland had been the first to propose him for the arduous and responsible station, which was to result in the freedom and glory of the new republic, and entitle him to the admiration of posterity; it was meet and just that Maryland should first announce to him the gratitude of his country, and bestow upon him those titles, which were to render his fame universal and never-dying. The sons of Maryland had often stood foremost in his lines of battle; they were now the first to offer him the proud ovation of a republican triumph." (*History of Maryland*, by James McSherry, p. 301.)

When in 1782 Sir Guy Carleton came to New York to offer terms of peace to the revolting colonies, the legislature of Maryland unanimously resolved that "though peace with Great Britain and all the world was an object truly desirable, war with all its calamities was preferable to national dishonor. That this State could never consent to treat with Great Britain, except on an equal, and would never enter into any treaty with that power, which would sully its own honor, or violate its obligations to France, its great and good ally."

The standing of Maryland among the other colonies at the close of the war, was shown by her influence in determining the future seat of government. Annapolis addressed a memorial to Congress (1783) offering that city as the future capital of the nation. Its accessibility by water, and yet its ready means of defense, appealed to the Continental Congress, which moved its headquarters to that city and took up temporary quarters. However the prevailing

sentiment was in favor of a location near Georgetown. As this location was within the boundary of the State, the petitioners were satisfied with the results.

It was to Annapolis that General Washington came to resign his commission in the army. "The members of Congress honored him with a public dinner; at night the statehouse was illuminated; and a ball, the favorite amusement of Annapolis, given by the members of the assembly, and attended by the beauty and fashion of the city and State, and the most distinguished men of the Confederacy. Everyone vied to do him honor. All the preliminaries having been arranged, on the 23d of December, 1783, in the presence of both houses of the State legislature, the governor and the council, many military officers, and a crowd of anxious spectators, the great chief entered the senate chamber where Congress was in session and advanced towards the speaker's chair. After a decorous silence of a few minutes, he addressed the President and members of Congress in a calm yet feeling and eloquent manner. When he had concluded he delivered into the hands of the President that great commission, under which had been achieved the liberty and independence of America, recommending his companion in arms to the gratitude of his country and to the care and guidance of the Almighty Ruler of heaven and earth. The President, on receiving the commission, testified to him, on behalf of the Congress and the people of the United States, their gratitude for his long, glorious, and persevering fidelity to his country; pledged to him, as the highest and noblest of earthly rewards, the love and veneration of present and future generations; and invoked the blessings of heaven upon his head. Then calmly, as if he had not just resigned the highest place in his country's gift and broken the sword of his own power for its lasting good, unmoved by the weeping eyes and sorrowful countenances that mourned his adieu—the great man, now truly greatest in heroism, retired from that hall, which had been consecrated forever by this noble scene; and without one regret, betook himself to the domestic seclusion of Mount Vernon." (*History of Maryland*, by James McSherry, pp. 310-311.)

CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

In studying the action of Maryland in the Revolutionary War and the period of construction, the important part played by Charles Carroll of Carrollton is ever evident; and if history has not sufficiently reverted to the fact, it was because his singular honor as the last of the signers of the Declaration of Independence has overshadowed

owed his greater claims to recognition. Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a man physically small; he was a student and of a retiring disposition, and was more of a trained business and constructive statesman than a politician. His long residence in Europe and his knowledge of European languages and customs, and his insight into the political problems of the middle of the eighteenth century, rendered him especially capable of wrestling with the difficulties which arose in his own country in the war of independence.

So often is he found pleading in the Assembly of Maryland, and then participating in the affairs of the Continental Congress, that it is with difficulty his actions can be followed. From the outset he decided to guide his own state, and to throw the influence of Maryland with the patriots with the one object of complete independence. For this he sacrificed the greatest honor and distinction of membership in the national assembly. He foresaw the struggle with England sooner than most of his contemporaries, and predicted that it was inevitable, and that the colonies would gain complete independence. On the 2nd of July, 1776, when Jefferson presented the Declaration of Independence to the Continental Congress and when it was being debated, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was at Annapolis assisting in framing the declaration of his native State. That Maryland document set forth in plain words that the time had come for complete independence. When there was talk of a truce or compromise after the fall of Yorktown, and England's representative was in New York pleading for a friendly settlement, Maryland stood out for complete severance from the mother country and for fidelity to France. The influence of Carroll of Carrollton is evident in these public manifestations of his native State. He served on one committee after the other;—in breaking the power of the Tories, in enlisting men, in furnishing supplies, and in keeping the people of Maryland true to the cause of independence.

And yet, Charles Carroll of Carrollton exercised a notable influence on the Continental Congress. He was a close and true friend of the very best men of the time like Chase, Morris, Franklin, and Washington, and kept a middle course with Jefferson and Hamilton. Had it not been for the indiscretions of the Continental Congress, the prejudice of John Jay, and the bitterness of Alexander Hamilton, without doubt Carroll, Chase, and Franklin would have succeeded in their mission to Canada. Despite the follies of Arthur Lee, Silas Deane, and others, his was the principal influence which won the

French nation to cast its lot with the colonies, and to help in winning the most important battle of the war.

We do not hesitate to ascribe to Charles Carroll of Carrollton the singular honor of enlisting the French nation with us in the Revolutionary War. When he was studying in Europe, and before his return to America, Carroll met Vergennes, later the head of the Foreign Department, and was able to use his influence with that official. Both Washington and Franklin urged Carroll to go to France in person and plead the American cause; but he knew that the enemies of the cause would seize upon the fact of his being a Catholic. He foresaw that he could accomplish more by directing the diplomacy of Franklin and others. Every phase of the question was discussed in long consultations in which Carroll, Chase, Franklin and Washington were the principal participants. Owing to the predominant feeling among the Protestant colonies against Catholic France, men shrank from any alliance with that country, even if that alliance would secure victory. Influential patriots used every argument against such a coalition. It was the tact, the patience, the statesmanship of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, more than any other influence, which finally won the day in Paris, and brought to our shores a navy and army of Louis XVI of France. This is no idle claim, for "men like Mr. J. H. Latrobe and others who knew, believed that the friendship of France could not have been secured, nor the alliance formed but for the effective work of Carroll. Mr. Bushrod Washington, who talked the matter over many times with his brother, was clearly of the same opinion, and in the expression of this he doubtless reflected the views of General Washington himself."⁵

In the dark days of Valley Forge, when the soldiers were suffering and becoming despondent, and when the ranks were diminishing by desertions, and above all when Washington needed advice, encouragement, and financial help, Charles Carroll was his truest friend. Carroll was if not the richest at least among the richest members of the Continental Congress. For three months was he with the leader of the American forces at Valley Forge, and did more than any other civilian to bring supplies to the starving regiments.

When we read the pleasant story of the final triumph of Washington, we are apt to forget his long years of mental and bodily suf-

⁵ See the "Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton," by Lewis A. Leonard, P. 177. It may be remarked that Mr. Latrobe was the private secretary of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and therefore had a personal knowledge of the men and opinions of the times.

fering. Perhaps the greatest trial in the life of Washington was the malicious attempt of his enemies to have him removed from his position as leader of the Continental Army. After the success of Gates in the capture of Burgoyne, the enemies of Washington seized upon the occasion and attempted to have him removed and Gates put in his place. Such action would have been fatal to the American cause, for Gates deserved little of the honor of defeating Burgoyne; and his subsequent action in the field showed that he had none of the qualities of a general. So preoccupied was Washington with his manifold duties, that he was scarcely aware of the conspiracy to demand his resignation. Here again it was his true friends, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, more than any other, who rescued Washington from the power of his bitter foes, and caused him to be retained as leader of the American army.

The greater part of legislation is brought about by the work of committees. Charles Carroll was pre-eminently a man of committees, both in the Maryland Assembly and the Continental Congress. Some of these appointments came to him as a distinction and a reward for service, as when he prepared the address to Washington after the Battle of Yorktown. At other times Carroll deliberately sought a place on a committee, or was instrumental in the appointment of a committee, as when he moved that Congress send a deputation to inquire into the state of the army at Valley Forge. Through this committee Carroll exposed the schemes of the enemies of Washington.

It was through a committee of which Carroll and Chase were the moving spirits that Robert Morris was induced to administer the finances of the war and to found the Bank of North America. France had made generous loans and gifts before the fall of Yorktown, and was still pouring money into the colonies; but there was no agency to properly administer this source of income until Morris began to organize the banking system of the country. Then, many of the colonies were contributing tobacco and other commodities, but these were only partly serviceable until through his banking system, Morris found sale for them in the ports of the West Indies. Rich men like Washington, Carroll, Chase, and Johnson sent ready cash to Morris who displayed the gold in the bank windows to let the people know that his system was functioning. Despite all criticism and antagonism the Bank of North American flourished. A large part of its success came from the selection of the right man, and that selection was largely due to the careful planning and committee work of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

When the dark days, which intervened between the Revolutionary War and the adoption of the Constitution, were drawing to a close, Carroll was ever alert in the Continental Congress. But we find no utterances of his until there came the question of religious tolerance as embodied in the first amendment. Its adoption would mean the triumph of that doctrine which came from the Catholics of Maryland, and for which Maryland alone stood in early colonial times; it would mean the consummation of all for which Carroll of Carrollton stood. When it passed, the work of Carroll was done. He did not object to the form in which the rights of religious freedom were couched.

In 1829 Carroll wrote: "When I signed the Declaration of Independence I had in view not only our independence of England, but the toleration of all sects professing the Christian religion and communicating to them all equal rights. Happily this wise and salutary measure has taken place for eradicating religious feuds and persecutions, and becoming a useful lesson to all governments. Reflecting on the disabilities, I may truly say of the proscription of the Catholics of Maryland, you will not be surprised that I had much at heart, this grand design founded on mutual charity, the basis of our holy religion." ("Catholics in the American Revolution," Vol. 1, p. 352.)

BALTIMORE AND CARROLL

It is not a part of this Sketch to tell the further story of the State of Maryland. At the beginning and the end of the chronicle stand two preeminent men—the first Lord Baltimore, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Baltimore and Carroll! Protagonists were they of the highest ideals in civic and religious life! We behold the first boldly declaring to his king that he had embraced the Catholic Faith; we see the second fearlessly take his place in Annapolis where Catholics had no civil rights. George Calvert gave up his office as Secretary of State, but the loyal monarch admired him for his courage and bestowed upon him the title of a Lord; Charles Carroll came forth as the champion of democracy, and his enemies shrank away and the people called him the "First Citizen." Lord Baltimore wrote in his charter the first laws of religious toleration; Charles Carroll stood in Congress and saw the spirit of that law become a part of the Constitution. Baltimore laid the foundation of a flourishing colony and put freedom in the worship of God as its cornerstone; Carroll directed the course of the country's development and saw that the same spirit was written in indelible characters. Baltimore and Carroll! A grateful people have given the name of Baltimore to a

metropolis of the blue and broad Chesapeake Bay; a grateful State has put the statue of Carroll in the hall of fame; in the Capitol among the other immortal heroes of the United States. These words which Carroll wrote, Baltimore would have written: "I have been blessed with great wealth, prosperity, and most of the good things which the world can bestow—public approbation, esteem, applause; but what I look back on with the greatest satisfaction to myself is, that I have practiced the duties of my religion."

CONCLUSION

In this sketch no exaggerated claims have been made for colonial Maryland. Virginia in the south and Massachusetts in the north wielded a greater social and political influence. It is objected that the colony was founded as a landed aristocracy, and therefore does not furnish a model form of government for the future great republic. The first statement is only partly true. Of the original settlers about twenty had the means to pay for their transportation and to set up homes in the New World. But these men and their families were not snobbish or exclusive. They gave to every other man who accompanied them the full right of future citizenship. Those who came as indentured servants found themselves after a few years in possession of the same amount of land, as had been given to those who had received their portion in the first distribution. They not only had the franchise and full political and religious liberty, but by a special enactment they were even required to attend the sessions of the assembly, and assist by their votes and advice in direction of the policies of the colony.

By this and similar enactments the old lines of demarcation, such as obtained in Europe, and such as kept those of noble birth or of a higher social strata permanently placed above their fellow beings, were almost entirely broken down. The aristocratic system of England was not transplanted to the shores of the Chesapeake. Money in those days was scarce, and the only feasible way of remunerating those, who cast their lots with the adventure, was to repay them with grants of land. Those whose passage and other expenses were paid had no other means of meeting their obligation except by years of service. But during these years of service they were in no sense slaves. The non-Catholic portion among them enjoyed full religious liberty, and looked to the time when the franchise and other political rights would come to them. In the meantime they were studying the nature of the soil, the methods of agriculture and stock-raising, and

had an opportunity to select with great care and foresight the section of land which came to them when their days of indenture were passed. Their children intermarried with those who had come with the full privileges of the colony ;and many a man who crossed the ocean as an indentured servant saw his children and grand-children intermarried with the best families of the colony, and his estates so large, they would have been the envy of the nobility of England.

Massachusetts and other colonies may have had a form of government which appeared to be a better model for the future United States, but none of the colonies really gave more political power to its citizens than did Maryland. The New England States and Virginia had the outward form of democracy, but their citizens did not enjoy the political freedom that was given to the settlers of Maryland. At the present writing, Russia claims to be a government of the people and for the people; but the name remains a name, and Russia is more tyrannical than was the country under the Tsars. The New England colonies preached freedom and were formed in the name of freedom, but none of them gave more freedom than did the Palatinate of Maryland; nor did any of them form a more perfect exemplar of the future United States.⁶

Circumstances combined to make the early years of Maryland the most prosperous in the colonies; no doubt, this prosperity would have continued had it not been for the religious animosities which so early spring up. The peaceful and just policy of the leaders, the fertile soil, the deep waterways, the friendly relations with the Indians, and finally the ready markets for tobacco, the leading produce of the land, all combined to make the colony prosperous from the outset. Those who directed the destiny of the colony were not adventurers seeking for gold or the exploitation of the natives. It was not a part of their plans to enrich themselves and then sail away to their own country to enjoy the wealth which they had accumulated. The New World was the land of their adoption. They came to stay and make homes for themselves and their children. They sought to live upon the soil and to produce, as far as possible, everything that they needed in their daily lives. It was claimed for many years that all the brick was brought from the mother country, but it has since been proved that for the most part the building material was made near the site of the future house. This is only one instance to show

⁶ A discussion of this question may be found in the Complete Works of Orestes A. Brownson, Vol. 12, p. 105.

how the immigrants made use of local resources, and as far as possible, became independent of England.

But in this sketch one claim has been made for Maryland, and that claim must stand unchallenged by any one who has taken the trouble to search into the records of the past: Maryland is the land of religious liberty. In vain have her enemies tried to rob her of this glory; in vain have they sought to minimize her influence as the banner bearer of religious liberty; in vain have they brought forward the figures of Roger Williams and William Penn and to enshrine them above that of Lord Baltimore as prototypes of religious leaders. Much they did and much they suffered, but theirs was not the honor of granting that religious freedom which was accorded to his colony by the first Lord Baltimore.

It is remarkable that the mind of Baltimore should have been so clear on a subject which was so befogged in the minds of other social and religious leaders. To apply the word liberty of religious teaching and practice to Luther, Melancthon, or Calvin is to misinterpret history. Even at a later period such religious reformers as Knox and Wesley would not accord freedom to Catholics and others who disagreed with them. Even in the Catholic Church there was a dispute about religious toleration. It is truly wonderful that in the midst of all this confusion of thought, the mind of Baltimore should have been so clear. His safeguard was in the fact that he was far away from those who would have been his critics. Freedom of religion as he granted it was an accomplished and accepted fact long before critics had time to examine into its character; and when they did examine they applauded it as a true solution to the many problems which had arise from turmoil of the sixteenth century, and which was to guide religious and political leaders for centuries yet to come. This was the honor of Lord Baltimore; this was the honor of Catholic Maryland. May the coming centenary of Maryland place a wreath upon the brow of the man who planned religious freedom, Lord Baltimore.

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HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

A REMINISCENCE

For St. Angela's Academy of Morris, Illinois, the oldest existing mission house of the Order in America, the Sisters of the Holy Cross are indebted to the generosity of Mr. John McNellis.

In 1857, a short fourteen years after the landing of the first members of the Order in the New World, and just two years after the Mother House had been changed from Bertrand, Michigan, to the present site at Notre Dame, Indiana, Mr. McNellis donated an unfinished three-story brick building and ten acres of land to the Sisters of the Holy Cross to be used for a school.

Mr. McNellis had been for some years a resident of Morris, the county seat of Grundy County. In days gone by, the county seat held a much more important place in the life of the people than it does now and the Saturday visit had all the force and glamor of a function. Evidently our benefactor had a great interest in the quaint old town, for he owned considerable property within its limits, and his gift shows a great interest in Catholic education. History says that his own lack of education coupled with a desire for better things along this line for others, led to his donation, a purely gratuitous one, since it is not recorded that any of his descendants ever attended school at St. Angela's.

On the fourteenth of September, 1857, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Sister Ambrose and her companions, Sister Emmanuel and Catherine, left the Mother House for this first permanent Illinois Mission. Sister Ambrose, a sister of Rev. William Corby, C. S. C., of Gettysburg fame, had the honor of receiving her appointment as head of St. Angela's from the Very Rev. Basil Moreau, the founder of the Holy Cross Order, who happened to be visiting the congregation in America at the time of this foundation.

The pastor of the church, Rev. Thomas Terry, known to hosts of friends in the Archdiocese of Chicago as Dean Terry, secured \$500 for the Sisters and a fair netted \$350 more. With this small sum of money, the house was put in a condition to open school and on January 4, 1858, an event notable in the annals of the small city and still more notable in community annals, is recorded—the receiving of its first pupils by St. Angela's Academy.

It is not likely that the pupils were very numerous that first year, but few or many, they had a commencement in the June of 1858. This function was held on the grounds and a young man who later became Rev. Father Abbot, a Lazarist, decorated the stage and

contributed greatly to the success of the affair. Owing probably to the cordial relations established at this time, Father Abbott was always a loyal and devoted friend to the Sisters of the Holy Cross.

In May, 1862, Very Rev. Edward Sorin, then Provincial of the Holy Cross Order, made a visit to St. Angela's and commended and encouraged the work done there.

Until 1866 the small brick house which formed part of the McNellis donation and the nucleus of the present building stood alone and unchanged, but the school had become better known, the number of pupils had increased, and more room was demanded, so an addition was put to the building, providing a study hall, dormitory, and dining hall. In 1882, another wing was added to afford more dormitory room, a music hall, and recreation rooms. Later porches were added, paths paved, and other improvements made. In 1897 another section was added to the long low building. The successive additions, while they answered their main purpose, that of giving more room, did not improve the appearance of the structure, which was too low for its great length. This situation was remedied when a mansard roof, which gave another story to the building, was put on in 1902.

In March, 1890, a bequest from Patrick Kendrick, an old-time resident of Morris and a devoted friend of the Sisters, made it possible to put steam in the building. Improvements came slowly in the old town, but they came. Saint Angela's shared in the good fortune. In 1896 water was piped into the grounds and 1906 brought electric light, sewerage, and other improvements which helped to make St. Angela's more of a home school than ever before.

Sister Francis, the third superior of St. Angela's, secured a charter for the institution in March of 1869, and in 1921 it was affiliated to the State University of Illinois.

St. Mary's parochial school in Morris, is attended from St. Angela's. The first teacher was Sister Bertha, for many years the accountant at St. Mary's and one of the best loved members of Holy Cross. In 1896, after a period of suppression this school was reopened in the old church. Mr. Kendrick's generosity made possible the fine structure, known as Kendrick Hall, which houses the school and a splendid hall, that contributes much to the social life of the little town of Morris.

From the beginning, it had been the honored privilege of the Sisters and pupils of St. Angela's to provide the music for all church services, but in 1888, the pastor, Rev. Laurence Meehan, made arrangements with Miss M. A. Walsh, an old pupil of St. Angela's, to

take charge of the choir and this work was no longer required of St. Angela's.

December 18, 1904, fire, caused by an overheated furnace, destroyed the church. It was quickly restored and in 1905 when Archbishop Quigley came to dedicate the new church, he visited St. Angela's Academy, one of the oldest schools in the Archdiocese.

The Golden Jubilee of St. Angela's was celebrated in 1908. Old pupils, the Children of Mary, the Alumnae, and other friends showered gifts upon the school. At the banquet given by the Alumnae, there were a number present who had attended the first commencement in 1858: Mr. M. Murnan, Mrs. M. Garrity, and Miss M. A. Walsh of Morris, and Mrs. Charles Conklin of Joliet.

The Alumnae Association, which was formed early in the history of St. Angela's, joined the I. F. C. A. in 1919, and delegates were sent to the St. Louis meeting of that year. The members of the Alumnae have been most loyal to their Alma Mater and keenly interested in all that concerns her welfare. Gray-haired matrons vie with the youngest members in attending meetings and in otherwise showing their devotion to the home of their school days.

Not often does "bread thrown upon the waters" bring an early return in the form of a reward to the thrower, but St. Angela's proved an exception, for the year 1918 brought a token of appreciation for past kindness in the shape of a \$1,000 from a family to whom a helping hand had been held out in days gone by. In 1923 Mr. Thomas Hynds left a bequest for St. Angela's of \$2,000.

So many of the members of the community served an apprenticeship as Superiors or subjects at this dear old place that there are few who treasure no recollections of it. The first Mother General of the Sisters of the Holy Cross was taken from her position as Superior of St. Angela's for this purpose. Mother Augusta would have made a good Spartan. She gave up work at St. Angela's, work in which she was most deeply interested, to pilot her community through a crisis in its history which called for ability and tact of an uncommon order and which demanded sacrifices a less gifted woman could not have made.

When all the Sisters of the Holy Cross and those of other Orders, who claim St. Angela's as an Alma Mater, meet beyond the shores of time, there will be a great gathering, for vocations have flourished in the old home school in Morris, and the religious roll call is a long one. If St. Angela's had done nothing beyond recruiting the ranks of Holy Cross, any labor or sacrifice entailed in her

upkeep would be most amply repaid. St. Angela's has probably more Sisters to her credit than any other house in the Holy Cross Order.

Besides the religious vocations fostered, there have been others no less gratifying. The children and grandchildren of former pupils have made the grounds resound with the sweet ring of childish voices as they fill the ranks of the old-timers and tread in their footsteps, for the old place changes little in its discipline or its regular routine.

No account of St. Angela's would be complete without a mention of Pat and Eliza Devereaux. This old couple lived across the street and were staunch friends of the Sisters and pupils and much devoted to "the buildin'," as they called it. No St. Patrick's night was right if the girls and some of the Sisters did not go over to spend the recreation with Pat and Eliza. The house was small and every bit of space available was used. Pat always entertained in the kitchen and Eliza in the *best* room. Irish songs and recitations, plenty of laughter at Eliza's quaint speeches and humor, together with cider and apples, kept things lively till it was time for home. Before leaving there was always a request for a last song from Eliza, who invariably consented after a preface of "Sure, and I haven't wind enough left to blow a candle out." After Pat's death Eliza, who had become a little unsettled mentally after her bereavement, took up her residence in the "buildin'" where she remained until her infirmities made it necessary for the Sisters to send her to a hospital in Joliet, where she died in 1909.

Another quaint character connected with St. Angela's was Joey Underwood, the owner of three acres of land across the street. Joey deeded the ground to the Sisters in return for care and support. For sometime he lived in a small house on the place, but managed to set it on fire and before the volunteer fire company responded the house was beyond hope. After this he had a little home on St. Angela's land. Joey was the kind of a Catholic in whom the Sacraments act "*Ex opere operato*" and his religion, in his later years especially, was not burdensome. On one occasion after age and infirmity had dispensed him from the long walk to Mass, he wandered off and got to the church in time for High Mass and at Communion time he went to the rail and received. When he got home one of the sisters said, "Joey, why did you receive Holy Communion after having eaten your breakfast?" "I didn't eat nothing bad," was the reply. Joey died in 1892. The Pastor heard confessions and

said Mass in the Academy chapel on Saturday morning. After Mass, more because the Sister was so insistent than because he saw any necessity for doing so, he went to see Joey, heard his confession, and annointed him. In an hour or so later Sister found the old man dead.

For an unpretentious school in a small town St. Angela's has had unusual recognition and many distinguished visitors have been entertained within her gates. Few of our institutions can boast of a visit from a Cardinal, but St. Angela's can, for she received Cardinal Mundelein in 1917, and she has been honored by a call from every Archbishop Chicago has had since 1857.

The course of study offered by St. Angela's is ample for all needs. It has an elementary and a high school department, complete in every respect and it offers special branches in some cases. The discipline is mild but firm and courtesy is demanded of all students at all times. Being within easy reach of Chicago and Joliet and yet far enough from them for none of their turmoil to reach or distract students, St. Angela's offers all the advantages of both city and country and her course of physical training under such conditions is ideal. Ample space for out-door games and sports and every opportunity for their indulgence, away from restrictions entailed by city life, afford plenty of opportunity for students to become physically perfect.

Music at St. Angela's has always been of the best, and no one at all familiar with this fact was surprised when the girls carried off the honors at a concert given in Joliet in April of 1928. A professor from the Musical School of Columbia University, New York City, pronounced the concert given at De Paul University Auditorium the best he had ever heard by high school students. Similar praise has been given for radio programs in Chicago and Joliet.

The past few years have been very active ones in the history of St. Angela's and strides in the way of progress have been made. In December, 1926, with the Cardinal's gracious consent, a resident chaplain was installed. This arrangement gives the community and the pupils daily Mass and relieves the parish priest or his assistant of the pupils' confessions.

The many friends of St. Angela's will be glad to hear that a new building is soon to replace the present old-time structure which is proving inadequate for the accommodation of all who apply for admission. The old girls, while rejoicing in the success of their Alma Mater, will be sorry to hear that the old apple orchard, the scene of

many of their escapades, is giving place to new tennis courts, and more playgrounds.

No doubt the new building and the more adequate play space will be dear to the hearts of those who use them, but they will never get affection more true or devotion more real and lasting than the old building and the dear, familiar scenes that were part of it have won from the students of old St. Angela's.

Baltimore, Md.

SISTER M. VERONICA, C. S. C.

ILLINOIS: THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN MID-AMERICA

(Continued)

CHAPTER VII

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF ILLINOIS, 1700-1712

It is impossible to think of the disintegration of the Tonty federation without regret. To an extent the colonization was the realization of La Salle's dream. Speaking of Tonty's rulership there Parkman says of the Indians:

"They gathered round his stronghold like the timorous peasantry of the middle ages round the rock-built castle of their feudal lord. From the wooden ramparts of St. Louis,—for so he named his fort,—high and inaccessible as an eagle's nest, a strange scene lay before his eye. The broad flat valley of the Illinois was spread beneath him like a map, bound in the distance by its low wall of woody hills. The river wound at his feet in devious channels among islands bordered with lofty trees; then far on the left flowed calmly westward through the vast meadows, till its glimmering blue ribbon was lost in hazy distance.

* * *

"La Salle looked down from his rock on a concourse of wild human life. Lodges of bark and rushes, or cabins of logs were clustered on the open plain or along the edges of the bordering forests. Squaws labored, warriors lounged in the sun, naked children whooped and gambolled on the grass. Beyond the river a mile and a half on the left the banks were studded once more with the lodges of the Illinois, who, to the number of six thousand had returned . . . to this their favorite dwelling place. Scattered along the valley, among the adjacent hills or over the neighboring prairies were cantonments of a half-score of other tribes and fragments of tribes, gathered under the protecting aegis of the French,—Shawnees from the Ohio, Abenakis from Maine, Miamis from the sources of the Kankakee, with others whose barbarous names are hardly worth the record."¹

But La Salle is no more, and Tonty who undoubtedly was much more to this federation than La Salle ever became was now gone. Tonty, the bond of union, the fearless protector, the able administrator, the man who was all things to all men was removed from their midst. Whatever solicitude the Canadian Government had at any time for the inhabitants of the Illinois country was now withdrawn. The great Frontenac, the friend of La Salle and of Tonty and the

¹ Parkman-La Salle and the Discovery of the Great Northwest, L. B. & C. edition, 1918, pp. 315-16.

promoter of commerce also was numbered amongst the dead. The Iroquois menace still remained, and the only leaders amongst the mixed concourse of savages were the missionaries. In all that concerned peace these sturdy representatives of civilization were most powerful, but they had neither the capacity or inclination for war. To remain in the settlement established by La Salle and Tonty, meant to be subject to the constant menace of war. Accordingly it was but natural that the thought of following Tonty to the new establishment of the French on the lower Mississippi should come into the minds of the unprotected missionaries and their devoted followers.

Little is known of the agitation or speculation leading up to the determination to leave the old habitation and seek out a new one. It is known, however, that in 1697 Father James Gravier, S. J., who had been the Vicar General and official missionary to the Illinois was recalled to Michilimackinac, and that while he was absent there came in succession Father Julien Bineteau, Father Pierre Francois Pinet and Father Gabriel Marest who labored amongst all the Indian tribes up and down the Illinois river. We are also advised that Father Gravier returned to Illinois in September, 1700. In a letter written by him to the superior of the missions from Fort Mississippi seventeen leagues from the discharge of the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico on the 16th of February, 1701, Father Gravier says:

“I arrived too late among the Illinois of the strait—of whom Father Marest has charge—to prevent the migration of the village of Kaskaskia, which has been too precipitately made, in consequence of uncertain news respecting the Mississippi settlement. I do not think that the Kaskaskia would have thus separated from the Peouroua and from the other Illinois of the strait, if I could have arrived sooner. I reached them at least soon enough to conciliate their minds to some extent, and to prevent the insult that the Peouroua and the Mouingouena were resolved to offer the Kaskaskia and the French when they embarked. I addressed all the chiefs in full council, and as they continue to retain some respect and good will for me, they parted very peaceably. But I augur no good from this separation, which I have always opposed, for I foresaw but too well the evil consequences that would result from it. And may God grant that the road from Chicago to the strait be not closed, and that the entire Illinois mission may not suffer greatly thereby. I admit to you, my Reverend Father, that my heart is heavy at seeing my former flock thus divided and scattered; and I shall never see it again after leaving it without having some new causes for affliction. The Peouroua whom I left without a missionary (for Father Marest has followed the Kaskaskia), promised me that they would preserve the Church and await my return from Mississippi—whither, I told them, I was going solely for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of all that was said of it.

This gave them great pleasure; they promised me that they would never leave their village until I should inform them to what place the great chief who is at the lower end of the river wished them to remove. I am very doubtful whether they will keep their word. After journeying four days with the Kaskaskia, I went on ahead with Father Marest, whom I left ill among the Tamaroas, where Father Pinet performs in peace all the duties of a missionary. Meanwhile, Monsieur Bergier, who works very well with us, has charge of the French only, which is a great relief for Father Pinet. I left the Tamaroas on the 9th of October to come here at the lower end of the Mississippi to the assistance of Father Du Ru."²

It will be remembered that during the same year, 1700, the Fathers of the Foreign Missions from Quebec had set up a mission station at the village of the Tamaroa Indians a few miles east of the Mississippi river and some 75 miles north of the new village of the Kaskaskia. These locations will be better understood if mentioned in relation to the present city of St. Louis. The Tamaroa village which later became known as Cahokia because of the fact that the Cahokia Indians were associated with the Tamaroas there, is opposite and a little south of St. Louis, some four miles east of the Mississippi river and the site of the second Kaskaskia is about 75 miles down the Mississippi river.

Besides these two settlements there still remained a number of the Indians of the Peoria tribe at Lake Peoria, and undoubtedly some Frenchmen living there permanently or passing to and fro engaged in the fur trade.

Little is known of the very first years of the settlement at the new Kaskaskia. It is well known, however, that no attention was given the Illinois country by the French Government either from home or from Canada or Louisiana. The missionaries and straggling Frenchmen as well as the Indians were left to shift for themselves with no government oversight or assistance of any kind. It is perhaps well that such was the case, as in similar circumstances prior to that time the evils from which attempted settlements suffered most were evils brought on by the avarice of government or the rapacity and vices of travelers and traders who either kept beyond regulation or exercised enough influence with venal commandants to enjoy immunity.

Father Marest and his Indian associates had just begun to get in some semblance of a settlement when he was called upon to assist in the plant of another settlement, or rather a post, as a permanent

² Vol. LXV, *Jesuit Relations*, pp. 101-103.

settlement did not then result. Writing to Father De Lamberville Father Marest speaks of this post:

"My Reverend Father:

"I have already done myself the honor of writing to Your Reverence from my village, with respect to the abandonment of fort among the Sioux, and of the arrival of Monsieur Juchereau, who is to establish a post at Vabasche, whither he takes with him Father Mermet. As it is stated that Monsieur de Ponchartrain is very desirous that this post be established, I rendered Monsieur Juchereau all the services in my power; and I accompanied him for a distance of 30 leagues from my village to see Rouensa in his winter quarters. I also took steps for endeavoring to assemble the Illinois at Wabache; but there are many obstacles, and I think that we shall have considerable difficulty in gaining our end. . . .

Monsieur Juchereau is prodigal of his promises, but he thinks in reality of his own interests. The Father who is with him is not at all pleased. He is neither a missionary, for there are no savages, nor a chaplain, for there is no stipend. He has not even a person to help him in his needs."³

Another letter of Father Marest's written ten years later tells of some happenings of interest at the post on the Wabash:

"The French had come to establish a fort on the river *Oubache* (Wabash); they asked for a Missionary, and Father Mermet was sent to them. This Father believed that he ought to labor for the conversion of the *Mascoutens*, who had set up a village on the borders of the same river: this is a tribe of Savages who understand the Illinois language, but who because of the extreme attachment which they have for the superstitions of their charlatans, were not very much inclined to listen to the instructions of the Missionary.

The course that Father Mermet took was to perplex, in the presence of this people, one of these charlatans, who worshiped the ox as his great *Manitou*. After having insensibly led him so far as to avow that it was not the ox which he adored, but an ox *Manitou* which was under the earth, which animated all oxen, and which restored life to his sick people, he asked him if the other animals—like the bear, for instance, which his comrades worshiped—were not likewise animated by a *Manitou* which is under the earth: "Without doubt," answered the charlatan: "But if that be so," returned the Missionary, "men ought also to have a *Manitou* which animates them." "Nothing is more certain," said the charlatan. "That is sufficient for me to convince you that you are not very reasonable," replied the Missionary; "for, if man who is on the earth be the master of all animals, if he kill them, if he eat them, it must be that the *Manitou* which animates men is also master of all other *Manitous*; where, then, is your intelligence, that you do not invoke him who is master of all the others?" This reasoning disconcerted the charlatan, and that is all the effect

³ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, V. 66, pp. 40-41.

that it produced,—for they were not on that account less attached to their ridiculous superstitions than they were before.

At that very time a contagious disease desolated their village and carried off every day many savages; the charlatans were not spared, and they died like other people. The Missionary believed that he could win their confidence by taking care of so many sick people; he applied himself to this without intermission, and many times his zeal nearly cost him his life. The services that he rendered them were requited with abuse; there were even some who went so far as to discharge arrows at him; these fell at his feet,—either because they were shot by too feeble hands, or because God, who designed the Missionary for other labors, chose at that time to screen him from their fury. Father Mermet, however, administered Baptism to a few Savages who asked urgently for it, and who died shortly after having received it.

In the meantime, the charlatans withdrew to a short distance from the fort in order to make a great sacrifice to their *Manitous*: they killed as many as forty dogs, which they carried on the tops of poles while singing, dancing, and assuming a thousand absurd postures. The mortality did not cease on account of all these sacrifices. The chief of the charlatans imagined that their *Manitous*, more helpless than the *Manitous* of the French, was compelled to yield to it. In this belief he went around the fort many times, crying with all his might: “We are dead; gently, oh *Manitous* of the French, strike gently, do not kill us all.” Then, addressing the Missionary: ‘Cease, good *Manitou*, let us live, thou hast life and death in thy coffers: keep death, give life.’ The Missionary pacified him and promised to take still more care of the sick than he had done up to that time; but, notwithstanding all the care that he gave them, more than half of the village perished.”⁴

Of this post it may be said there has been much confusion of statement. Juchereau did not long maintain the fort he established, but we hear of another fort built at presumably the same place by M. Aubrey, by direction of the Chevalier Macarty, commandant at Fort Chartres in 1757. It was called Fort Ascension by Aubrey in commemoration of the delay on which the first stone was laid. It was abandoned in 1764 and remained unoccupied until 1794, when for a few years there was stationed there in a newly built fort a small garrison of United States troops under Major Doyle.⁵

George Rogers Clark is said to have raised the flag he carried at the time of his conquest, 1778, at the site of this old fort. If so, this was the first time a flag representing the American cause was raised on the soil of Illinois.

The site of this old fort is now the property of the State of Illi-

⁴ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 237-41.

⁵ Dillon, *History of Indians*, p. 344.

nois and is cared for by the State Park body and the State Historical Society.

Detroit, in what is now known as Michigan, was established as a fort by Antoine de la Moth Cadillac in 1701. It was in what was then known as the Illinois country and was closely associated with the settlements on the Illinois, Mississippi and Wabash rivers, as will be seen in following subsequent events.

The first indication we have of the number of white men in the Illinois region is given in a letter of the Louisiana governor, Bienville, to the Minister at Paris. The governor is opposed to the Frenchmen scattering about and writes the Minister to the following effect as reported in Margry:

“September 6, 1704.

He wished to make the Canadians who are around the Mississippi and the Missouri, separated into little crowds of seven or eight and totaling one hundred and ten, including the men established at the Oubache under the orders of Sire de Juchereau, dead last autumn come down.”⁶

Father Jean Mermet, S. J., who came to the Illinois country as early as 1702, wrote to the Jesuits in Canada from the Kaskaskia village on March 2, 1706, giving some account of what had recently taken place in the Illinois country. Amongst other things Father Mermet wrote:

“I write you news concerning the affairs of the Illinois, some of which is good and some bad. It is good from this village, except that they threaten to leave us at the first word. It is bad as regards both spiritual and temporal matters, among the Illinois of Detroit,—otherwise, the Peorias,—where Father Gravier nearly lost his life on two occasions, and he is not yet out of danger. It happened thus: In obedience to the menacing orders of Monsieur the Governor, the chiefs appointed one Mantouchensa,—called by the French Tete d'Ours (‘Bear’s Head’),—as being one of the most notable of the tribe, to go to Monsieur the Governor to account for the death of a soldier named la Giroffe, who had been killed by the Illinois. He was accompanied by some other Illinois savages, and went to Michilimackina with Monsieur Desliettes, with the intention of going down to Montreal. But while at Michilimackina, he saw the frightful presents that the timidity of the French caused them to give to the Outaouis,—who, as well as the Illinois, were all to be killed, and he at once took very different measures with the Outaouis. The latter told him that they were more feared at Montreal than was imagined, and that he should act as they did, and do things that would make him dreaded and redoubtable. These discourses, or the mere sight of the cowardice of the French, and their powerlessness to revenge themselves after

⁶ Margry, Vol. V, p. 368.

the terrible threats of all the tribes,—which were, to eat the first one who broke the peace,—induced him to give up the idea of going to Montreal. He resolved to return to his own country, and kill and pillage the black gown and the French, that he might make himself at once redoubtable and rich with their spoils. He sent his comrades away from Michilimakina, with orders to keep in sight the said father and the French who were among the Peourias. He followed closely upon his countrymen, and no sooner had he reached the village than he related the news, and urged the whole village to sedition. He loudly harangued that a person who took notice of everything as the black gown did, should not be tolerated; that after killing these French, they need use no further moderation toward the others; that they must be got redoubtable beyond question, in imitation of their neighbors. All these discourses excited their minds to revolt, and, although not all were of that opinion, a great many followed it. Among these was a hot-headed man, who, under the pretext that he had been offered a slight by the said father, who would not bury one of his deceased relatives in the church, a favor which the father granted to no one, and which he was not even able to grant at the time when the deceased person died; for the savage had brought her dead body without taking the trouble to dig a grave, leaving the father to do everything, a thing that has never been done—this hot-headed man, I say, asserted that since the Father rejected the body of his relative, he would revenge him therefor. This he did shortly afterward; for when he met the Father in the village, he ran to his cabin for his bow and arrows, and, without saying a word, shot the father, wounding him dangerously. Two arrows struck his breast, but glanced off; a third tore his ear; the next would have killed him had it not been for the collar of his cassock, which stopped the arrow-head; the fifth was a deadly shot, for the arrow pierced the arm above the wrist and penetrated to below the elbow; three streams of blood poured from the opened veins and from the severed artery. The father plucked out the arrow, but the stone head stuck in the sinews near the joint of the elbow,—within, as we suppose. All this abortive affair occurred quietly, without a single Illinois trying to stop the furious man. At the first shots, the father asked the Savage: ‘My son, why do you kill me? What have I done to you?’ He knelt to commend himself to God, and at the same time, as soon as the wound was inflicted, the father swam, as it were, in his own blood. A good Samaritan, stranger in the village, and a renard (Fox) by nation, had compassion on the father. He pressed tightly upon the upper part of the arm, and the artery, from which the blood had spurted freely, allowed only a few drops to escape. Then some praying women ran to the poor father, and, assisted by the renard, who still retained his strong pressure on the father’s arm, they brought poor Father Gravier home. An Illinois offered to dress the wound, and the father consented, but we saw, from what happened afterward that the intentions of this physician were no better than those of his brethren. He closed the wound as soon as he could, and, as a Frenchman who

was there said very truly, he shut up the wolf in the sheepfold, by closing up in the wound the clotted blood that was in it. At first, the father felt some relief from pain, but he afterward paid very dearly for his credulity in having tolerated his physician. Fever was added to his sufferings, and, during the three months while the father remained there, he suffered terribly. He nevertheless made an effort to trace some letters, to inform me of what had happened and resolved to withdraw—while he took steps to keep in communication with some faithful praying savages here. This cannot be done, especially among Savages, without some information of it being given. At the very first suspicion, they called out in the village that the father must not be allowed to depart; that those who favored his escape were to be killed, and that the French were to be closely watched. At the very first news of this accident, I applied to Rouenza, who gave me four young men to go to get the father. Monsieur Berger, who was nearer the Pewarias (Peorias) than we were, had sent thither 14 persons, but they abandoned the task; one only, one of the chief men among them, went to the father, and remained some time, watching over him; but he went home before the father's departure. One of our four young men came back from the Tamarois to inform us of what they had done; the three others continued their journey, and told the father that Rouenza had ordered them to die with him. Thus they did not leave him until he reached us at Rouenza's village, which is called St. Francois de Xavier, as you are aware. The praying women who took care of the father among the Peorias also accompanied him. They supplied him with a canoe and with what he needed on the journey. The rendezvous was appointed for after midnight, long before daybreak; but the father was nearly prevented from going, by an accident more unfortunate than the first, as you will see. About midnight, when rain was falling and the sky was very dark, and the father considered the time favorable to his escape, he was greatly surprised on being told that his house was surrounded by 200 Illinois—who had taken down a portion of his palisade, in order to get in. It was St. Michel the blacksmith, who was watching with the father, and who, on going out by chance, saw all this great multitude, whose numbers were probably exaggerated by the darkness of the night and by his fears. He did not lose his presence of mind in his fright. He approached and questioned them, asking them: 'What do you seek at this hour?' 'We are looking for something,' one of them replied.

St. Michel at once re-entered the house, and said to the father: 'We are lost; we are beset by 200 Illinois. Listen to me, my father, while I confess my sins before I die,' Deman, the father's servant, did the same. Meanwhile the Savages were deliberating as to what they should do, because, as they expected to surprise the father in his house alone, and without witnesses, they were astonished at finding there the blacksmith, who dwelt elsewhere. Hardly had the said Frenchmen finished their confession when four or five Savage knaves entered arrogantly, as if to speak to the father. But in the meantime St. Michel pushed through the crowd of besiegers to warn, without loss

of time, one of the chiefs, who was rather friendly to the French, of what was going on at the father's house. The chief came at once with St. Michel and with some young men among his followers to the dwelling of the father, who was greatly perplexed about his safety. The sight of the chief disconcerted the assassins, who had intended to kill the father in his own house. But as they have deference for one another, they did not dare to carry out their design against the will of the last comer, who caused them to be asked what they were looking for. The band dispersed without a word, and swooped down upon St. Michel's house which they pillaged. Some hours afterwards, the father embarked without loss of time, and shortly before dawn, his Savage and French canoemen under his orders brought him safely here. That was at the end of October, three months after the attack; and, even then, I greatly feared for his life.

The poor father could barely say Mass once or twice; he had to be dressed like a child; but afterward his arm swelled more than ever, and he could not use it. He uttered cries night and day, like a man who is being burned; in fact, he felt pains similar to those caused by a scorching fire. His condition excited compassion in me, for I had no means of relieving him. At last I proposed somewhat rashly to lance the swelled arm, and he consented. 'But,' he said, 'you will have to cut very deep with the lancet to reach the stone arrow-head.' 'I am not sufficiently skillful to flatter myself that I can find it, even if you were to point out the place where the pain is most severe; but I hope to give you relief by allowing the pus to flow.' He consents; he exhorts me to perform the operation, and I set to work. I thrust the lancet three times into his arm, fortunately without injuring him, or opening the principal vein, although the lancet was buried to one-half its depth. After this a great quantity of putrid blood, having a very disagreeable odor, escaped, and his gave him relief; but the stone did not appear and we despaired of curing him. How could an inexperienced man, as I was, seek it among the sinews?

Therefore Jacques, *dît le Castor*, and all the French here agreed with me that he should go to Mobile to have his wound attended to, as there are surgeons at that place who know their trade. After much resistance, he yielded to our prayers and to the kindness of his guide, Bouat, who had been sent by Monsieur Pacaud to Ouabache; he had returned from the sea to go to Canada, and was here when the father arrived from Peouareoua (Peoria). Bouat did not venture to continue his journey, on account of the insolence of the Illinois—who, at the very least, would not have failed to plunder him. In despair of being able to get past that barrier, he very kindly came to offer his services to the father to conduct him to Mobile, whence he came; he sold here all his effects, and undertook to conduct the father, and to take care of him. He even came to our house and dressed his wound some days beforehand, and did so with remarkable skill. The father allowed himself to be won by his kindness, and left here for the sea on the 6th of November.

I greatly fear that he will die of his wound, or be crippled by it for the remainder of his life. After one day's journey, he hesitated as to whether he should not return to see me, instead of continuing his journey; for the pain had greatly diminished. He continued it, nevertheless, with the view of returning as soon as he is cured, in order to die on his first battlefield.''¹

The next year Father Gravier himself wrote the Superior-General of the order at Rome. Father Gravier was in Paris at the time of writing, whence he had gone as stated in Father Mermet's letter.

This letter of Father Gravier's is brief, but both interesting and important, as it gives his own modest view of the treatment accorded him by the Indians, and also informs us as to the state of affairs at the Peoria village and the new Kaskaskia. Father Gravier's letter is as follows:

"Paris, March 6, 1707.

Very Reverend Father,

I arrived here not long ago from our missions among the Indians commonly called Illinois, situated near the great river Mississippi, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico. . . . I traveled by ship more than 2,000 leagues,—not with the intention of (finding) some one who might extract from the middle of my arm the stone arrow-head which is riveted there for the rest of my life (the four other arrows which the same barbarian shot at me in hatred of the faith, apart from piercing my ear, hardly wounded me); but I performed the journey, urged by anxiety to procure from the Reverend Father General workers whom our missions greatly need, and especially, for a decision in the cases referred to your paternity. Those indeed concerning the contracting marriage by a Christian with an infidel are of the greatest importance for the strengthening of Christianity. . . .

In my village, which is five hundred leagues distant from Quebec, and which consists of about three thousand souls,—unless, during the pastor's absence, the flock be dispersed for a time,—have for the last nineteen years lived nearly always alone without a colleague, without a companion, often even without a servant. I am already fifty-six years old. Father Gabriel Marest likewise lives alone in his mission with the same nation. During an entire day he has hardly time to recite his breviary, or to eat, or to take a short rest in the middle of the night. His fellow missionary, Father Jean Mermet, can hardly work, owing to his ruined state of health after having spent all his strength by excess of zeal. They have hardly time to breathe, on account of the increasing number of neophytes and their very great fervor; for out of two thousand two hundred souls, who compose their village, hardly forty may be found who do not profess

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 51-65.

the Catholic faith with the greatest piety and constancy. We are separated from each other by a distance of 120 leagues, and hardly once every other year have I time to visit him.

JACQUES GRAVIER, S. J.⁸

Lightly as the good missionary chose to treat his wounds at the hands of the Peorias, he never recovered, and Father Marest, who was acquainted with all the circumstances, says that the wounds "caused his death."⁹

He returned from his trip to France in 1708 and died in the Louisiana Mission, April 26, 1708.¹⁰

One of the best accounts we have of the progress of the new settlement at the Kaskaskia is furnished by one Penicaut, who served as soldier in the Kaskaskia village for some four months in the year 1711. His entire relation as published in Margry is of the deepest interest and reads as follows:

MESSRS. D'ARTAGUIETTE AND DE BIENVILLE SENT TO ILLINOIS TO CHASTISE THE CANADIANS WHO CAUSED DISORDERS THERE—DESCRIPTION OF THE HABITS OF THE ILLINOIS KASKASKIAS, OF THEIR RELIGION, MARRIAGES AND HUNTING (1711).

"At the beginning of this year (1711), a number of merchants from Canada went down to the Illinois Kaskaskia with merchandise consisting of furs which they brought to the Mobile to sell.—They brought letters to Messrs. d'Artaguiette and de Beinville from R. P. Gabriel Marest, a Jesuit, who wrote begging these gentlemen to send him an officer with some soldiers to prevent the disorders of the many Canadian merchants who, under the pretext of business, debauched the young girls and women of the Illinois and openly committed many scandalous crimes; they also kept them from being converted to our religion which retarded the progress of the race.—On receiving this notice, Messrs. d'Artaguiette and de Beinville sent, some days later, a sergeant with twelve men, of which I was one. When the sergeant he left us in our canoes and went on foot, two leagues from the bank of the Mississippi, where the Illinois Kaskaskias lived.—He gave the letters of Messrs. d'Artaguiette and de Beinville to R. P. Gabriel Marest, who advised him to wait until the next morning, when he could surprise the Canadian libertines in their beds. The sergeant sent us word at night to come to the Illinois and to bring all our merchandise, which was in the two canoes, with us. We arrived two hours before daylight but, either because they had been warned or for some other reason, the Canadians had left the night before so we found no one. Our sergeant thought it best to stay

⁸ Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 121-23.

⁹ Letter to Germon, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, p. 247.

¹⁰ Jones in *Jesuit Relations*, LXXI, p. 156.

with the Illinois for sometime, either to wait for them or because he had been ordered to do so, as provisions were very scarce at the Mobile. So we stayed four months with the Illinois and lived by exchanging our merchandise for their provisions which were very cheap there.

The Illinois Kaskaskias are very good workmen and know how to cultivate their land; they plow the land which has never been done before in the lower Mississippi.—The R. R. P. P. Jesuits taught them to do this more than sixty years ago when they lived near Lake Pimiteouy, and came down through Canada to the Illinois whom they converted almost entirely to the Catholic religion.

The country where they now live, is one of the most beautiful parts of all Louisiana and the soil is the most fertile. The wheat is as beautiful as that of France and there are all sorts of vegetables, roots and herbs, also all kinds of fruit with a most delicious taste. The Illinois have the most beautiful prairies to be found along the Mississippi; they put their horses, which they buy from the Cadodaguioux in exchange for merchandise, out to graze. There are a great many beasts in these prairies such as buffalo, cows, etc. There are also great numbers of birds of all kinds; besides fish of all kinds in their river and in the Mississippi which is two leagues from their village, so that nothing is lacking which is necessary or convenient to have.

They have, close to their village, three mills to grind their grain, one wind-mill, which belongs to the Jesuits and is much used by the inhabitants and two mills worked by horses, which are owned by the Illinois themselves.

The women of the Illinois Kaskaskias are usually very handy; they spin the hair of the wild buffaloes which is as fine as the wool of the English sheep. This wool is spun as white and as fine as silk. It is with this that they make their cloth which they dye in three colors, black, yellow and dark red. They make their dresses a great deal like those worn by the women of Brittany or like the house dresses of the French ladies, which train on the floor and have pieces of goods sewed on the collar which covers the head; besides that, they wear a skirt and a corset which comes halfway down their limbs. They sew with thread made from the tendons of a deer which they prepare in this way:—When the tendon of the deer has had all the flesh stripped off of it, they dry it for twenty-four hours in the sun, and, after having beaten it, spin it as fine and as white as the most beautiful thread of Maline and it is also very strong.

Most of the Illinois are Christian Catholics. There is a very large church in the village with a baptismal font. This church is very clean inside and has three chapels, a large one for the choir and two others alongside. They have a belfry with a bell and go to church and vespers regularly. The Jesuits have translated their psalms and hymns from the Latin into their language.

The Illinois, either at mass or at vespers, sing the verses alternately with the French who live with them; as an illustration,—the Illinois sing a verse of a psalm or hymn in their language and the

French the next verse in Latin, with the same tune as they use in Europe in the Catholic churches.

As far as their marriages are concerned, when a Frenchman wishes to marry one of their girls, he sends a present, the best one he can, to the brother of the girl, for it is neither the father nor the mother, but the son and brother, when there is one, who can give away the girl, for the marriage depends on his consent. The man who wishes to marry sends the best present he can afford to the brother, often without ever having spoken to the girl, and if the brother accepts the present and consents, he asks his parents to come to the house and advise him, and tell him whether he should give his sister to the man who asks for her or not. If the parents are willing, the brother gives to each one of them a part of the present which has been sent him and the parents the same day send a much better present than was given them to the brother. When the brother has received all his presents from his parents, he has them carried to the house of the fiance and the next day this latter comes to salute his new brother, mother and father. Then they all go together to the Jesuits to have their names inscribed on the marriage register. The bans are published three times on three consecutive Sundays or holidays, and they are married finally with a mass as in France, afterwards. The fiance usually has the marriage performed at his home, and the day before all the relatives who are invited, send a piece of meat to him, and the next day, after the marriage, they escort the newly married couple to their home where they eat and dance and enjoy themselves all day long. If, on the contrary, the present is returned and not accepted, this is done the same day it is received. If all christian parents in France were as charitable as the savages are when their relatives marry and would send them a really valuable present to help the young couple get started in life, there would be fewer poor families reduced to beggary. There would be fewer young girls of good family shut up in a convent where they draw the malediction of God on themselves and on those who forced them to enter there by their sorrow and despair.

As far as their wars are concerned, they are very brave and use either guns or arrows.—They are not inhuman towards their prisoners as the rest of the savages are to theirs. If they take young children, they are raised in the village and instructed by the Reverend Father Jesuits in the Catholic religion; if the prisoners are old men or young ones who could do them harm, they break their heads.

They hunt generally with the bow and arrow. When they hit a wild buffalo who has run away with the arrow sticking in him, they are so quick and light on their feet that they can catch him and pull out the arrow while he is running, and then draw their bow on him again and again until he falls dead. They have a hunting ground which is filled with every kind of game in large quantities and which is about eighty leagues in length, ending near Canada.

After four months we returned to Mobile where we did not find Mr. d'Artaguiette who had returned to France.

Finally Father Marest himself writes an extended and detailed account of affairs in the Illinois country covering the period from 1702 to 1712. His letter is addressed to Father Barthelemi Germon also of the Society of Jesus and Professor at Orleans, and is dated "At Cascaskias, an Illinois village, otherwise called the 'Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin,' November 9th, 1712."¹¹

At the outset Father Marest makes it plain that he dealt with many Indians other than the Illinois, as he distinguishes between the Illinois and the other tribes. Speaking of the less docile Indians he says: "nothing is more difficult than the conversion of these Savages; it is a miracle of the Lord's mercy; we must first make men of them and afterward work to make them Christians." In the true missionary spirit the good father, however, says:

"But the more averse they are to the Kingdom of God, the more ought our zeal be quickened to draw them near and cause them to enter it. Persuaded that we can do nothing of ourselves, we know at the same time that everything is possible to us with the aid of Him for whom we work."

Like all the other earliest visitors to Illinois, Father Marest is warm in his praise of the country. "Our Illinois inhabit a very pleasant country," says he.

"The great rivers which water it, the vast and dense forests and delightful prairies and hills covered with very thick woods,—all these features make a charming variety. . . . All the plains and prairies are overspread with oxen, roebuck, hinds, stags and other wild beasts. There is a still greater abundance of small game. We find here especially a multitude of swans, cranes, bustards and ducks. The wild oats which grow freely on the plains fatten them to such a degree that they very often die from fat suffocating them. Turkeys are likewise found here in abundance. . . . The Mississippi is one of the most beautiful rivers in the world, and in recent years a shallop ascended it as far as eight hundred leagues where water falls prevented its going over."

Father Marest then describes the great rivers that empty into the Mississippi, and says:

"Besides these large rivers which water so extensive a country, there are also a great many small streams. It is on the east branch of one of these rivers that our village is situated, between the River Wabash and the Pekitanoui (Missouri). We are in the 38th degree."

¹¹ Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, p. 219, et seq.

The fruits and nuts of the neighborhood are described in considerable detail by Father Marest, and he expressed the regret that:

“Our savages are not accustomed to gather fruit from the trees; they think it better to cut down the trees themselves; for this reason there are scarcely any fruit-trees in the vicinity of the village.”

The number and location of the settlements at this time are reported by Father Marest:

“Counting our own,” says he, “there are only three (villages) of which one is more than a hundred leagues from here (Peoria) where there are eight or nine hundred savages, and the other is on the Mississippi 25 leagues from our village (Cahokia).

It is thus that Father Marest distinguishes the Illinois from the more savage Indians. He says:

“The Illinois are much less barbarous than other savages; Christianity and intercourse with the French have by degrees civilized them. This is to be noticed in our village of which nearly all the inhabitants are Christians; It is this also which has brought many Frenchmen to settle here, and very recently we married three of them to Illinois women.”

Father Marest refers several times to industrial conditions. He points out that hunting is still the chief occupation of the men, and that it is the women and girls:

“who prepare the ground which must be sowed, who do the cooking and who pound the corn and set up the cabins and who carry them on their shoulders on the journeys. . . . In addition to this they are busy in working up the hair of the oxen and in making it into leggins, girdles and bags.”

The gradual transformation taking place is indicated in what Father Marest says about the hunts:

“Our village,” says he, “is the only one in which a few savages are permitted to remain during all these journeys; many of them raise chickens and pigs in imitation of the Frenchmen who have settled here, and these Savages are exempt for the most part from this sort of hunting.”

The good pastor found new delights on each return from the numerous toilsome journeys he made. Arriving at his Kaskaskia village after a most trying trip as far as Michilimackinac he says:

“When I had returned to my mission I blessed God for the favors he had heaped upon it during my absence. That year there had been an abundant harvest of corn and of wild oats. Besides the beauty of the place, we also have salt springs in the neighborhood, which are of great benefit to us. Cows have just been brought to us, which will render us the same service in tillage that the oxen render

in France. We have tried to tame the oxen, but we have never succeeded. There are mines of lead and of tin not very far from here; perhaps more valuable ones would be found if some intelligent person were employed to discover them."

Father Marest makes it plain that the mission at Kaskaskia is the same that was planted by Marquette and firmly established by Father Gravier on the upper Illinois.

"This mission," says he, "owes its establishment to the late Father Gravier. It is true that Father Marquette was the first who discovered the Mississippi about thirty-nine years ago. . . . Sometime afterward he made his second journey with the design of fixing his dwelling here and working for the conversion of these tribes; death which removed him from us . . . left to another the charge of executing the enterprise. It was Father Allouez who took it upon himself. . . . However, he made only a very short stay here. . . . Thus it is properly Father Gravier who ought to be regarded as the Father of the Illinois Missions."

The good priest and great administrator made two or three journeys to Peoria, went once at least to St. Joseph and Michilimackinac and devoted himself sincerely to the care of his sick neighbor Reverend John Bergier, F.M., in charge of the Tamaroa Mission at Cahokia. Nothing could better illustrate the trying conditions under which these missionary leaders worked than Father Marest's description of his efforts for the relief of Father Bergier, and these are best told in his own words:

"About twenty-five leagues from here," says he, "is the village of the Tamaroas. This is a mission which was at first intrusted to Father Pinet, whose zeal and whose labors were so greatly blessed by God that I myself am witness that his Church could not contain the multitude of Savages who came to it in crowds. This Father had as his successor Monsieur Bergier, a Priest from the Seminary of the Missions étrangères. Having learned that he was dangerously sick, I immediately went to assist him. I remained eight entire days with this worthy Ecclesiastic; the care that I took of him and the remedies which I gave him, seemed gradually to restore him, so that, believing himself better,—and knowing, besides, how necessary my presence was to my own mission, on account of the departure of the Savages,—he urged me to return to it. Before leaving him, I administered to him, by way of precaution, the holy Viaticum; he instructed me as to the condition of his mission, recommending it to me in case that God should take him away. I charged the Frenchmen who took care of the patient to inform us at once, if he were in danger; and I retraced the way of my mission.

"As it is only twenty-five leagues from one village to the other, we sleep out-of-doors but once, provided we make good progress; the meals that we take on the way consist of some ears of corn and a

small piece of smoked beef, which we carry with us. When we are hungry, we kindle a fire close to some brook, so that we may have something to drink; we roast the corn and the meat, and afterward we lie down near the fire, turning now on one side, now on the other, according as we need to warm ourselves. When I arrived at our village, nearly all the Savages had gone; they were scattered along the Mississippi. I immediately set out to join them. Hardly had I gone six leagues when I found three cabins, in one of which was a poor old man, very sick. I heard his confession, gave him some remedies, and promised to come again to see him, thinking indeed that he had still many days to live.

“Five or six leagues farther on I found a great number of cabins, which formed a sort of village; I halted there a few days, in order to perform my accustomed functions. In the absence of the Missionary, they do not fail to meet together every day in a large cabin; and there prayers are offered, the rosary is recited, and hymns are sung, sometimes far into the night,—for it is chiefly in the winter, when the nights are long, that a great part of that time is spent in singing the praises of God. We are careful to appoint one of the most fervent and most respected of our Neophytes to preside over meetings of this sort.

“I had already remained some time with these dear Neophytes when some one came to tell me that there were, eighteen leagues still farther down the Mississippi, sick people who needed prompt assistance. I immediately embarked in a pirogue: this is a kind of boat made of a large tree, hollowed out to the length of forty feet, and which is very heavy; this gives a great deal of trouble when it is necessary to ascend the river. Happily, we had only to descend; and, as the rapidity in that place equals that of the Rhone, we made those eighteen leagues in a single day.

“The sick people were not in such urgent danger as had been represented to me, and I soon relieved them by my remedies. As there was a Church there, and a great number of cabins, I remained some days, in order to revive the fervor of my Neophytes by frequent instructions and by participation in the sacraments. Our Savages have such confidence in the Missionary who directs them that they reveal to him with an admirable openness of heart everything that occurs during his absence; therefore, if any disturbance takes place, or if anyone gives cause for scandal, the Missionary, when informed of it, is in a position to remedy the evil, and to prevent the greivous consequences that might follow.

“I was obliged to separate from my Neophytes sooner than I could have wished; the good old man whom I had left so sick, and the illness of Monsieur Bergier, continually disturbed me, and urged me to return to the village, that I might hear news of them. Accordingly, I ascended the Mississippi, but it was with great toil; I had only one Savage with me, and his lack of skill obliged me to paddle continually, or to use the pole. After all, I arrived in time at the cabin of this fervent Christian who was dying; he confessed for the last time, and

received the holy Viaticum with great devotion,—exhorting his son and all around him to live according to the precepts of the Gospel, and to persevere even until their last breathe in the Faith that they had embraced.

“As soon as I had reached our village, I wished to go to see Monsieur Bergier; but the people opposed this, alleging as a cause that, no one having brought news of him,—as had been promised in case he were worse,—they could not doubt that his health was re-established. I yielded to this reasoning; but, a few days afterwards, I felt genuine regret for not having followed my first plan. A young slave came, about two o'clock in the afternoon, to apprise us of his death, and beg us to go to perform the funeral rites. I set out forthwith. I had already gone six leagues when night overtook me; a heavy rain which had fallen did not permit my taking a few hours' rest. Therefore I walked until daybreak, when, the weather having cleared a little, I lighted a fire to dry myself, and then continued my way. I arrived at the village toward evening, God having given me strength to make these fifteen leagues in a day and a night. The next day at dawn I said Mass for the deceased and buried him.

“The death of Monsieur Bergier was somewhat sudden, according to what was told me by the Frenchman who was with him; he felt it coming all at once, and said that it would be useless to send for me, since he would be dead before my arrival. He merely took in his hands the crucifix, which he kissed lovingly, and expired. He was a missionary of true merit and of a very austere life. At the beginning of his mission, he had to bear rude attacks from the charlatans,—who, availing themselves of his slight knowledge of the Savage language, every day took away from him some Christians; but eventually, he learned how to make himself in turn feared by those imposters. His death was for them a cause of triumph. They gathered around the cross that he had erected, and there they invoked their Manitou,—each one dancing and attributing to himself the glory of having killed the missionary, after which they broke the cross into a thousand pieces. I learned this with grief some time after.

“I thought that such an outrage ought not to go unpunished; therefore, I entreated the French no longer to trade with them, unless they should make reparation for the insult which they had offered to Religion. This punishment had all the effect that I could desire; the chiefs of the village came twice in succession to declare their keen regret for their fault; and, by this avowal, they induced me to visit them from time to time. But, it must be acknowledged, a missionary does no great good to the Savages unless he lives with them, and continually watch their conduct; without this they very soon forget the instructions that he has given them, and, little by little, they return to their former licentiousness.”¹²

The martyrdom of the good old Vicar General, Father Gravier, of which Father Mermet wrote at length, adds an interest to the

¹² *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 257-265.

sequel of the disturbance at Peoria that justifies a relation of Father Marest's subsequent dealings with the Peorias.

After they treated Father Gravier so shamefully, Father Marest says "that the governors of Canada and Mobile forbade the French to trade with them, and that many Christians from Peoria came down to Kaskaskia, but there remained many others who not being sustained by the usual instructions, would possibly falter in the faith."

From traders passing through the Peoria country, Father Marest learned "that these Savages were much humiliated by the neglect in which they had been left; . . . they seemed deeply impressed by the unworthy manner in which they had treated Father Gravier, and they earnestly wished for a missionary."

On consultation between Father Mermet and Father Deville, another Jesuit who had just joined Father Marest, it was considered that it would be wise to investigate the situation to determine if a missionary should be sent back to the Peorias. Fortunately Father Marest found it necessary to visit his brother, Joseph, another Jesuit, "about the affairs of our mission, of which he is the Superior," and who was then located at Michilimackinac. In making the journey he would pass through the village of the Peorias, and it was decided that he could examine the conditions upon this visit.

Accordingly, another of the extremely difficult journeys that were made in these early days was undertaken which Father Marest describes in great detail. Finally, however, the Peoria village was reached, and Father Marest says:

"I was much consoled by the proceedings of the *Peouarias* (Peorias); all the chiefs of the village came to greet me, expressing to me their joy at seeing me again, and entreating me to forget their past faults and to come to dwell with them. I responded to these marks of friendship by reciprocal expressions of affection; and I promised them to fix my dwelling among them, as soon as I should have finished the business that was calling me to Michilimackinac."¹³

Whereupon Father Marest continued his journey and transacted the necessary business at Michilimackinac, setting out to return to the Illinois several weeks later. Of the return journey the missionary said:

"Many of the Savages from the village of the *Peouarias* (Peorias) came some leagues to meet me, in order to escort me and to defend me from the parties of warriors who range the forests; and, when I drew near the village, they sent one of their number thither to give notice of my arrival. The greater part of the men ascended

¹³ Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, p. 279.

to the fort, which is placed upon a rock on the bank of the river. When I entered the village, they fired a volley from their muskets in sign of rejoicing; joy actually painted on their faces, and they vied in displaying it in my presence. I was invited with the Frenchmen and the Illinois chiefs to a feast, which the most distinguished men of the *Peouarias* gave us. It was then that one of their principal chiefs, speaking in the name of the Tribe, expressed to me the keen grief that they felt for the unworthy manner in which they had treated Father Gravier; and he besought me to forget it, to have pity upon them and their children, and to open for them the door of Heaven, which they had shut against themselves.

“For my part, I returned thanks to God from the bottom of my heart on seeing the fulfillment of what I had desired with the greatest ardor; I answered them in a few words that I was touched by their repentance; that I always looked upon them as my children; and that, after having visited my own mission, I would come to fix my dwelling among them, that I might help them by my instructions to re-enter the way of salvation, from which they had perhaps strayed. At these words a great cry of joy arose, and each one eagerly expressed to me his gratitude. During the two days that I spent in this village, I said Mass in public and performed all the duties of a missionary.”¹⁴

With this assurances, Father Marest left the Peorias and returned to his own mission. The outcome of an appointment to the Peoria Mission is detailed by Father Marest himself:

“But when there was discussion about keeping the promise that I had made to the *Peouarias* (Peorias) of going to live with them, the Frenchmen and the Savages opposed it,—apparently because they were accustomed to my ways and do not like changes. Accordingly, Father de Ville was sent there in my place. This Father, who had been a short time with us, has now proved by his zeal, by his ability to win the Savages, and by the improvement that he is making among them, that God appointed him to this mission, not having judged me worthy of it.”¹⁵

As will be seen, the settlement continued to flourish and the great missionary labored more and more assiduously amongst his forest children until his death.

Chicago

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¹⁴ Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, pp. 287-89.

¹⁵ Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, p. 291.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

Ninth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, held at New Orleans, La., November 13, 14, 15, 16, 1910. Most Rev. J. H. Blenk, D. D., Archbishop of New Orleans, Sponsor.

The Ninth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies took place in New Orleans, La., November 13-16, 1910. It was opened with solemn services at St. Louis Cathedral.

The sermon was delivered by Rt. Rev. John B. Morris, D. D., Bishop of Little Rock, Ark. Among the things the Bishop said: "It is most encouraging to see the Catholics of the United States turning their attention to the great question of united Catholic action, and the success of your Federation during the few years of its existence demonstrates very clearly the results which are possible in such union. Your motto, "in Union is Strength," simply means that you are giving your best efforts to secure justice for Catholics at the hands of their non-Catholic fellow citizens. Your Federation does not mean that you wish to take part in the government of the Church, for there is no place for laicism in the Catholic Church where there is question of ecclesiastical government. Neither is it your desire to establish a political party, for this would be hostile to the spirit of our constitution. But your intention, after taking note of the difficulties under which the Church labors, is to champion her cause in demanding the rights which are due you as citizens of this great republic.

"It is also your purpose to repel the calumnies which from time to time are directed against your religion, either through ignorance, prejudice or malice. Who will say that the idea which gave you birth is not legitimate? . . . What Catholic, then, can refuse his endorsement to the Federation, and what non-Catholic can find fault with its object? . . . We must sacredly join shoulder to shoulder in union with our brethren and march to the defense of our religion with the spirit of soldiers on the battlefield whenever Mother Church calls us." . . .

After the Pontifical Mass the Apostolic Delegate, Most Rev. D. Falconio, gave the Papal Blessing.

The first public mass meeting took place November 13, at 8 p. m., in Grunewald Hall, with an overflow meeting at the Jesuit Hall, which was also crowded to the doors. The meeting at the Grunewald

Hall was presided over by Hon. Judge L. P. Caillouet and the overflow meeting at the Jesuit Hall by Dr. Felix Gaudin (recently made a Knight of St. Gregory) of New Orleans, La. Addresses were made by Judge Caillouet, Governor J. Y. Sanders, Mayor Behrman, Mr. T. P. Thompson, and Charles I. Denechaud, K. S. C. Mr. Edward Feeney, President of the National Federation, responded to the above addresses of welcome, after which His Grace, Archbishop Blenk of New Orleans, was presented to the vast audience.

Archbishop Blenk gave a glowing account of Federation, paid high tribute to the Pope and spoke in eloquent terms of His Excellency Most Rev. D. Falconio, Apostolic Delegate, who honored the convention with his presence. "As true sons of our great White Father, the Pope," said Archbishop Blenk, "let us send him a message of loyalty from the American Catholics that will make him forget the insults recently heaped upon him by Nathan, the Mayor of Rome. I move, therefore, that we send our Holy Father, Pope Pius X, a ringing protest against the action of the Mayor of Rome and pledge him our eternal fidelity and devotion as Christ's Vicar on earth." The audience rose to its feet and amidst tremendous applause the resolution was accepted.

The next speaker was His Excellency Most Rev. D. Falconio. He thanked the Federation for its loyalty to the Holy See and said: "My sympathies have always been in favor of this colossal organization of our Catholic societies. It will give us strength and prestige before the nation and at the same time it will train and encourage our men to stand as true soldiers of Christ and as a solid rock against the invasion of false and pernicious doctrines and the relaxation of morals. Hence I pray that God will bless your Federation and crown your endeavors with success."

His Excellency then spoke at length on the question of Capital and Labor. He said: "The Church, speaking directly to the poor and laboring classes, says, 'Remember that you were created for a better and happier end than for merely earthly possessions and transitory enjoyment.' To the rich and capitalists she says: 'Do not make of your gold and silver a mammon of iniquity. Pay just wages to your workmen; do no injury to their just savings by violence and fraud; do not expose them to corruption, seductions and scandals; do not impose upon them labor which is beyond their strength or unsuitable for their age or sex.

"Succor the poor and the indigent. Be to them all an example of economy and honesty and show yourself to them rather as a benevolent father than as a stern master."

The next speaker was Bishop James A. McFaul, who spoke on the origin, history and work of the Federation. The same speakers addressed the overflow meeting, in addition to Bishop Jones of Porto Rico, Rev. John Wynne, S. J., of New York and Monsignor Joseph Schrembs, of Grand Rapids, Mich.

The business session of the convention was opened Monday morning, President Edward Feeney presiding. Mr. Chas. Denechaud was appointed chairman of the Credentials Committee. His report disclosed that 225 delegates were in attendance, twenty-three dioceses and twenty-two national organizations and state leagues being represented.

The reports of the National President and National Secretary were read. These reports showed Federation's activities in various fields: The passage of the Bennett White Slave Traffic Bill by Congress; crusade against immorality; suppression of obnoxious post cards, slanderous books, etc.; co-operation of the Associated Bill Posters and Distributors Association in refusing to post suggestive posters.

The Masonic and socialistic influences throughout the world sought by misrepresentation to convey the impression that the Catholic Church was responsible for the execution of the Spanish radical and anarchist, Ferrer, by the Spanish government. So far were they successful that in Rome, Paris, London and in America, indignation meetings were held. Even the press was loud in its condemnation. Later on the Catholic papers and a few broadminded secular papers told the true facts about the case and showed conclusively that the Catholic Church had nothing to do with the matter. After the excitement had died down, "McClure's Magazine" published an article on the Ferrer case by Perceval Gibbon which was so permeated with a spirit of hostility to the Catholic Church that Federation thought it advisable to protest. Accordingly an open letter was addressed to "McClure's Magazine," protesting the appearance of the offensive article. Copies of the open letter were sent to the Catholic press and marked copies of editorials were forwarded to the editor of McClure's Magazine. Protests of national and state organizations affiliated with Federation followed. Overwhelmed with protests, the offending magazine informed Federation that it would publish a 4,000 word article on the Ferrer case to be written by some one whom Federation would designate. Accordingly Federation invited Mr. Andrew Shipman of New York, an attorney, who was thoroughly familiar with the case (having been in Barcelona, Spain, during the

riots) to write the article. The same appeared in "McClure's Magazine" under the title "An American Catholic's View of the Ferrer Case." Its publication in McClure's was considered as an apology on the part of the editor for the insult to the Catholic Church.

Federation was called upon to investigate the Governor Dorn case. Governor Dorn was governor of the Island of Guam, which, since the Spanish-American War belongs to the U. S. The governor was accused of forbidding the Apostolic Prefect of the Marian Islands, Rt. Rev. P. A. Kirchausen, and his companion, Rev. Callistus, O. M. Cap., to land in Guam for the purpose of carrying on certain church functions and making ecclesiastical changes. The Bishop in his letter to the Central Verein, and which was given to Federation for investigation, said: "Governor Dorn forbade me and my priestly companion to land, although I had promised him in a letter by loyalty to the American government and obedience to American laws. For five days we had to remain on board of a little Japanese ship with scarcely enough to eat. After this we were brought to the quarantine station on Cabras Island and held there for six days. We were treated by Gov. Dorn like state prisoners. A German business man who came with us could land, but the Prefect Apostolic and his companion could not."

Federation brought this matter to the attention of President Taft and to the Apostolic Delegate, Most Rev. D. Falconio, and the case was satisfactorily adjusted.

The report of the National Secretary further disclosed Federation activities in various states: Suppression of anti-Catholic articles; celebration of Mass in public institutions and reformatories; supplying penal institutions with rosaries and religious articles and Catholic reading matter and books; Catholic juvenile work; discontinuing of holding public school graduation exercises in Protestant churches, etc.

The afternoon session was taken up with the reading of letters from forty bishops, two abbots and two Provincials of the Jesuit Order commending Federation.

Archbishop Messmer made a report on the Catholic Congress held in Germany at which he represented the A. F. C. S.

Rev. Wm. Ketcham, Director of the Catholic Indian Missions, spoke in behalf of the Indian Missions, having been requested to do so by Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ryan.

The meeting closed with prayer by Bishop Jones of Porto Rico.

Tuesday's sessions opened with a Pontifical Mass of Requiem celebrated at the Jesuit church by Bishop C. Van De Ven of Alex-

andria, La. The business meeting which followed was presided over by Mr. Feeney. Rev. Leander Roth (now Very Rev. Canon Roth of the New Orleans Cathedral, one of the founders of the Louisiana Federation which is still flourishing and celebrated its silver jubilee in 1928) introduced Abbot Paul Schauble, O. S. B., to the delegates. The Rt. Rev. Abbot gave an inspiring address. He was followed by Mr. J. McLaughlin, Manager of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and by the Rev. Luke Evers of New York who was called the "Printer's Priest." Father Evers, later Monsignor Evers, spoke of the establishment of the so-called "Printer's Mass" in New York, which is celebrated at 2 a. m. and gives the night workers a chance to hear Holy Mass on Sunday. Father Evers was the originator of this Mass which has been introduced in various large cities.

The next to address the meeting was Rt. Rev. W. A. Jones, O. S. A., Bishop of Porto Rico. He spoke of conditions in that country and concluded by saying: "We have felt the effects of Federation in Porto Rico; through it the government has always been willing to listen."

During the afternoon session Bishop McFaul made a report on the Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal, Canada. Mr. F. Kenkel, Director of the Central Stelle of the Roman Catholic Central Verein addressed the convention and said in part:

"We have been passing a great many resolutions on Organized Labor Questions. I know the labor unions have hardly heard of these resolutions. As the American Federation of Labor is now in session in St. Louis, Mo., I would move that this convention telegraph the resolution on Organized Labor just read to the delegates of the Federation of Labor in St. Louis. Not very long ago the American Federation of Labor was asked if they would accept the principles of Socialism, but it was voted down. I think it would help the conservative element by sending our resolutions to the convention." National Secretary Anothony Matre seconded the motion of Mr. Kenkel and suggested that our resolutions should be sent to our special delegate, Rev. Peter E. Dietz, who was attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The convention unanimously approved this action.

The Committee on Ways and Means, Mr. Thos. P. Flynn of Chicago chairman; the Committee on "Associate Membership," Mr. F. W. Heckenkamp, Jr., of Quincy, Ill., chairman; the Committee on Constitution, Mr. Daniel Duffy of Pottsville, Pa., chairman; the Com-

mittee on Law, Mr. A. V. D. Watterson of Pittsburgh, Pa., chairman, then made reports.

A mass meeting was held in Grunewald Hall on Tuesday, November 15. Hon. John St. Paul presided. Addresses were made by Archbishop S. G. Messmer of Milwaukee on "Federation"; by Mr. F. P. Kenkel, Director of the Central Stelle of St. Louis, Mo., on "The Social Question—A Question of Social Reconstruction"; by Hon. Joseph E. Ransdel, M. C., on "Catholic Citizenship in America." The benediction of His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate, brought this interesting mass meeting to a close.

Bishop McFaul opened Wednesday's session with prayer. A report was made of the progress of the establishment of a National Young Men's Catholic Association with the Y. M. I. and the Y. M. N. U. as a nucleus. The committee was continued.

The Committee on Resolutions then presented its report. The resolutions were as follows: "Loyalty to the Pope"; "Portuguese Persecution"; "Home and Foreign Missions"; "Indian Schools"; "Negro Missions"; "Mailing of Obscene Literature"; "Sunday Observance"; "Religious Texts"; "Religious Education"; "Catholic Schools, Colleges and Universities"; "Religious Lectures"; "Catholic Art"; "Alumni Association"; "Bible Reading in Public Schools"; "The Press."

The resolutions on the social questions expressed sympathy with every legitimate effort of organized labor—for a living wage, reasonable hours, protection of life and limb, workman's compensation, decent and healthful conditions in the home, shop, mine and factory. The resolutions deplored the evils of child labor and needless work on the Lord's Day. Recommended discourses on the Church's stand on divorce, education, rights of property and labor, care of immigrants, etc.

The report of the Finance Committee disclosed that the total receipts for the year, including the cash balance, amounted to \$7,152.80. The expenses were \$3,516.88, leaving a cash balance of \$3,635.92.

After the reports of activities of Federation in the various states were made the following officers were unanimously elected: President, E. Feeney, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Vice Presidents, J. B. Oelkers, Newark, N. J.; T. P. Flynn, Chicago, Ill.; J. Coller, Shakopee, Minn.; J. J. Hynes, Buffalo, N. Y.; C. Wallace, Columbus, O.; J. T. Kelly, Milwaukee, Wis.; Secretary, Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.; Treasurer, C. H. Schulte, Detroit, Mich.; Marshal, A. Kuhn, Hays, Kans.; Color Bearer, Chief Red Willow, S. Dak.

Executive Board: Archbishop Messmer; Bishop McFaul; Thos. Cannon, Chicago, Ill.; N. Gonner, Dubuque, Ia.; W. G. Smith, Philadelphia; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh; D. Duffy, Pottsville, Pa.; H. Wessling, Boston; C. I. Denechaud, New Orleans; J. Whalen, N. Y.; F. W. Heckenkamp, Quincy, Ill.

With the selection of Columbus, Ohio, as the next convention city, the convention adjourned.

Tenth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, held at Columbus, Ohio, August 20, 21, 22, 23, 1911. Rt. Rev. James J. Hartley, D. D. Bishop of Columbus, Ohio, Sponsor.

The Tenth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies took place in Columbus, Ohio, August 20-23, 1911. The opening services were held in St. Joseph's Cathedral, where Pontifical Mass was celebrated by His Excellency Most Rev. Diomedo Falconio, Apostolic Delegate.

The sermon was preached by Rt. Rev. Regis Canevin, Bishop of Pittsburgh, Pa., who spoke, in part, as follows: "Our Holy Father Pius X welcomes and blesses this mighty force of lay apostleship, solidly united, to speak with one voice and act with our will for justice and truth, for God and our country.

"The Church calls on Catholic laymen of education and position to lead their fellow citizens in all righteous public movements. There is work for every man, rich or poor, high or low. No one can afford to be indifferent and silent, when Christ calls to action. . . . Catholic societies should be the strongest champions in the struggle for honest government and decent politics in city, country, state and nation; the first to demand a cleaner literature in books, magazines and newspapers; to condemn and labor to suppress immoral pictures, advertisements, theaters and amusements; to promote social purity; to protect the chastity of the young and innocent; to assert and defend the rights of the poor laboring classes; and to insist on the abolition of all unnecessary Sunday work, that the day may be a day of rest and worship as the Lord demands.

"Federation represents and fearlessly proclaims the faith and moral teachings of the Church and makes them the measure of the greatest questions of the day. . . .

"We stand for the rights and sanctity of the Christian home and family, resting on the stable and sacramental foundation of Christian marriage.

“The Church calls upon her members to arise, and, with all the power of truth and grace oppose and strive to root out the great social and political evils which confront society and menace the welfare and stability of our government. We must not leave the study and discussion of the great Labor and Social questions exclusively to the enemies of religion. ‘It is for Catholics,’ says Leo XIII, ‘to take the initiative in all true social progress and to be the champions of the eternal principles of justice and civilization.’ . . .

Promptly at 2 o’clock a street parade was held in which ten thousand men took part. Col. C. W. Wallace, of the Knights of St. John, was the Grand Marshal. The parade was reviewed by the Apostolic Delegate and Bishops and Governor Harmon. The ringing of the chimes of Trinity Episcopal church during the parade added solemnity to the occasion and Catholics voiced their appreciation of this courtesy.

The mass meeting was held in Memorial Hall. Bishop J. J. Hartley of Columbus presided and welcomed the delegates, saying, in concluding his eloquent words of welcome: “Members of Catholic Federation, where divine truth speaks there you shall ever kneel with reverence and obedience—where your country is in danger there you should stand ready to defend it with your lives—where the honor, integrity and sacredness of home life are imperiled, there you should gather as an invincible phalanx to defend them to your last breath, and, if needs be, with your heart’s blood.” The addresses of welcome by Mayor Marshall and Governor Harmon were well received.

President Edward Feeney of the Federation made response to the addresses of welcome and presented as the next speaker His Excellency Most Rev. D. Falconio, Apostolic Delegate, who spoke of some of the great problems that need solution. He spoke of the great German Congress held in Maniz, Germany, which was addressed by Bishop Von Ketteler, whom he called “the greatest of all modern sociologists,” and paid a great tribute to the work of Federation.

Archbishop H. Moeller was the next speaker. He reviewed the work of Federation and said: “You can understand what an honor and pleasure it is for me to be here, for the A. F. of C. S. had its birthplace in Cincinnati. Federation is carrying out the ideas of Leo XIII. Federation has likewise heeded the direction of Leo XIII in his encyclical letter ‘Sapientiae,’ June 10, 1890, on the duties of ‘Christian Citizenship,’ ‘that the laity should receive guidance from the pastorate of the church whenever they undertake anything in

the interests of religion.' Members of the Federation always keep before your minds the words of Leo XIII to the effect that every Catholic has two fatherlands, 'duaspatrias,' Church and Country; love and serve both."

Dr. James Walsh, Dean of Fordham University Medical School delivered a most illuminating address on "The Church and Science."

The Committee on Credentials made its report Monday morning. Twenty-four diocese and twenty-five national and state bodies were represented, likewise 16 Institutions and delegates from 26 states were in attendance.

The important feature was the reading of the reports of the National President and Secretary disclosing the activities of Federation during the year. The reports showed that Federation was most active in its opposition to the National Educational Association which endeavored to create a National Executive Department of Education at Washington, D. C., which department would take over the control and supervision of all the schools in the land—resulting in bureaucracy in education. An appropriation bill of \$75,000 for the equipment of such a department was presented to the 61st Congress, supported by the National Educational Association, by the Superintendents of Schools of New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, State Superintendents of Public Instructions of New York, Pennsylvania, and by presidents of leading secular universities all backing up the National Educational Association.

The A. F. of C. S., on the other hand, opposed this measure vigorously, and forwarded its protest to all Senators and Congressmen and had all National, State, and County Federations to likewise send protests to their respective Congressman and Senators and to the chairman of the Committee on Education, with the result that the Congressional Committee reported the bill adversely, stating:

For the present at least the legislation now existing confers sufficient authority, upon the Bureau of Education to render inadvisable the establishment of a new department in the Government service with the additional expense of a Cabinet Minister. The adverse report was signed by the following U. S. Congressmen: James F. Burke, Pa., chairman; A. J. Volstead, Minn.; W. E. Ton Belle, Ohio; J. C. Needham, Calif.; G. A. Loud, Mich.; M. P. Kin-kaid, Neb.; J. C. Grant, N. C.; F. J. Garrett, Tenn.; T. T. Ansberry, Calif.; J. V. Graff, Ill.; R. C. Wiccliffe, La.; W. M. Calder, N. Y.

The report of the National Secretary disclosed that Federation

had sent an "Open Letter" to the principal theatrical producers and managers of public play houses in the United States asking them to cause the suppression of all plays of an immoral type and such that directly or indirectly ridicule or misrepresent religion, Catholic practices, religious orders and their vows, also all plays that offend womanhood, Christian chastity and modesty. The "Open Letter" went out with the approval of Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee, Archbishop O'Connell of Boston, Archbishop Blenk of New Orleans, Bishop McFaul of Trenton, members of the Advisory Board.

All Catholic editors were asked to publish Federation's "Open Letter" and societies were asked to back up Federation's crusade. As a result, thirteen leading theatrical producers responded. Of these four were mere acknowledgments; eight promised Federation every assistance; and one refused to co-operate with Federation.

A dispatch from New York, dated July 31, 1911, stated that theatrical managers approved the resolution of the Catholic Federation.

Federation appealed to the Poster Printers' Association of the U. S. and Canada to discontinue making suggestive posters. The association promised co-operation and asked Federation to keep their organization informed on any poster to which objection is raised. Accordingly, Federation asked that posters advertising salacious plays be discontinued. Federation also requested that all posters which ridicule religion and caricature monks, friars, etc., be discontinued.

In response to Federation's request, Mr. Clarence E. Runey, Secretary of the Poster Printers' Association wrote under date of June, 1911, advising the A. F. of C. S. that their request was officially brought to the attention of the members and delegates attending the Fifth Annual Convention of the Poster Printers' Association of the United States and Canada at West Baden Springs and was officially accepted in the spirit in which it was intended. It has been the desire and aim of this organization to eliminate the manufacture of salacious posters.

"Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine," published at Thompson, Ga., published a series of insulting articles entitled, "The Roman Catholic Hierarchy the Deadliest Menace to our Liberties and our Civilization." The articles contained insulting remarks about Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Falconio and other prelates and called the Catholic priests "thick-lipped, bull-necked men, who never do an honest day's work in their whole life." The articles assailed the relics of saints, parish schools, etc., using the foulest language to defame the Catholic Church and its spiritual leaders.

The offending articles were referred to Federation. Secretary Matre at once wrote to the reputable firms advertising in the magazine apprising them of the defamatory articles and asking them if they respect the feelings of their Catholic patrons, to be kind enough to send a letter of disapproval to Mr. Watson. Eighteen large business firms complied immediately with Federation's request and not only registered vigorous complaint, but withdrew their advertisements entirely.

(The scurrilous articles were reported to the post office authorities of the United States which subsequently caused the arrest of Watson, of which detail was given at the next convention of the Federation.)

The report of the National Secretary disclosed that a number of Churchmen from various parts of the world favored the establishment of a World Federation of Catholics. Among those were Bishop L. C. Casartelli of Salford, England, the "Father" of the first Federation in England; Bishop E. D. Bagshaw of Hounslow, England; Bishop Aloys Schaefer of Saxony, Germany; Sir Lester Drummond, K. S. G., of London; Cardinal Merry del Val and others.

The National Secretary gave a resume of Federation activities for the past ten years and read a letter of congratulation received from Cardinal Merry del Val, Papal Secretary of State, on Federation's Tenth Anniversary, as follows:

"I desire to express my pleasure in being able to congratulate the Federation on its good work during the ten years of its existence, in the cause of right and justice.

"The success that has attended its constant efforts to uphold the claim and foster the religious intellect of Catholics all over the states, is worthy of praise and a proof of what could be done by the universal union of Catholic organizations for the safeguarding of the civil, social and religious welfare of their members.

"The work of the Federation, as the principles of guiding its organization give ample testimony, does not confine its sphere of action to merely Catholic and religious interests, but extends its influence for good to those also of every branch of civil and social life, bringing the good leaven of the doctrines of Christianity into the every-day dealings of business men.

"For these reasons and for the promise of greater good in the future, I most cordially wish the Federation every success."

On Monday evening a reception was tendered His Excellency Most Rev. D. Falconio, Apostolic Delegate, and the visiting prelates

at the Knights of Columbus Hall. Mr. John G. Price, Grand Knight of K. C. Council No. 400, presided and announced that his Council had joined the Federation. To this the Apostolic Delegate responded as follows: "I compliment Council 400 of the Knights of Columbus for being the first Council in this country to affiliate with Federation. The A. F. of C. S. is working distinctly under the protection and guidance of the American hierarchy and with the full sanction and the blessing of the Pope."

Prior to the opening of Tuesday's sessions a Pontifical Mass of Requiem was celebrated at St. Mary's Church with Rt. Rev. H. Richter, Bishop of Grand Rapids, Mich., as celebrant. The business session was opened by President E. Feeney.

Messages of greeting from six Cardinals, two Apostolic Delegates, ten Archbishops, thirty-two Bishops and six Abbots were read.

Mr. W. C. Sullivan of Washington, D. C., reported on a Catholic Y. M. C. A.—a proposed union with the C. Y. M. N. U. and the Y. M. I.

Bishop P. Muldoon of Rockford, Ill., having been called upon to address the convention, said among other things: "There is a wide field of work for us Catholics to do beyond the mere practice of our binding religious duties. How often do we find Catholics who are strong in their profession of faith, great members at conventions, great members at home, but ask them to be a member in some social work among the poor they find no time. The good Catholic of today is the Catholic who helps in some social work—who is preaching the Gospel of Christ through his own activity and sacrifice. . . . Our Federated Societies, with the support of the Church, should do this work."

Abbott Paul Schauble spoke on "Colonization Work."

Bishop Canevin of Pittsburgh spoke on "Federation Critics."

"The work of Federation has been so successful," said Bishop Canevin, "that it has aroused some antagonism and criticism in some quarters, but that is the highest compliment that could be paid us and the highest testimonial of the excellence and success of our work. No good work has ever been undertaken without arousing criticism—criticism and opposition are often the very best evidence that we are doing and achieving something. . . . Federation has accomplished in the last ten years in Catholic activities more than had been done in the preceding fifty years."

Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., of New York, spoke on the Encyclopedia Britannica and pointed out some of the unscholarly and, in

numerous instances, offensive treatment of subjects of special interest to Catholics in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia.

Very Rev. Dr. J. Cavanaugh, C. S. C., President of Notre Dame University, addressed the convention, saying: "I want to begin by professing myself an enthusiastic convert to Federation. I have seen much of Federation in a short time and the result accomplished, and if any man told me they were possible, I would have denied it. I have, indeed, seen a wonderful transformation of things. Let us begin with the two principles that Federation stands for. Federation is *not* in politics. I am glad that this is true. The next is, that it is of no importance whether Catholics attain high political office compared to the question whether our children shall get a higher education. These two principles you may accept in your philosophy of life." Father Cavanaugh then gave an eloquent address on Catholic higher education.

The second mass meeting was held August 22, 1911, at Memorial Hall. Col. C. W. Wallace introduced Judge Maurice H. Donahue of the Supreme Court, who presided. Addresses were made by Bishop McFaul on "Federation" and by Rev. H. Westropp, S. J., and Indian Chief Horn Cloud on "Indian Missions."

At Wednesday's session a plan of establishing a Woman's Federation was presented by Rev. Leander Roth of Louisiana. A general discussion followed in which Mr. N. Gonner of Dubuque, Rev. P. O'Brien of Toledo, Mrs. Tully of Ohio, Miss L. Points, editor of the *Morning Star* of Louisiana, Mrs. Timmony of Michigan, Mrs. C. D. Denechaud of New Orleans, Mrs. M. Finan of Chicago and others took part. As a result a committee was appointed to study the question and report at the next convention. The committee members are: Marie Louise Points, New Orleans, La.; Rose Rittman, Chicago; Anna Malia, Pennsylvania, Katharine O'Keefe-O'Mahony, Massachusetts, and Josephine Brown, Ohio.

Mr. T. J. Duffy, President of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, gave a report of the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in St. Louis, Mo., and spoke of the Catholic Federation's delegate, Fr. Peter Dietz, to said convention, and what a good impression Father Dietz made upon the Labor Union delegates.

Rev. M. J. Foley of Quincy, Illinois (now Very Rev. Monsignor Foley), editor of the *Western Catholic*, gave a stirring address on the necessity of supporting the Catholic press. He said that the press was the sixth greatest power in the world. "The Catholic

press is the right agency for the Catholic Church and every home should have at least one good Catholic paper. Take your stand,, for duty calls for a strong Catholic press."

After the reports of states had been made, the following resolutions were adopted:

Religious.—"Loyalty to the Pope"; "Golden Jubilee of Cardinal Gibbons"; "Persecution of Catholics in Albania and Portugal"; "Missions"; "Sunday Observance"; "Encyclopedia Britannica"; "Catholic Art"; "Care of Prisoners"; "Obscene Literature"; "Mixed Societies"; "Catholic Citizenship"; "Catholic World Federation."

Educational.—"Catholic Education"; "Freedom of Education"; "Educational Periodicals"; "Catholic Daily Press"; "Deaf Mutes"; "Catholic Alumni Associations"; "Bible Reading in Public Schools"; "Catholic Normal Schools."

Social.—"Divorce"; "Socialistic Propaganda"; "Social Efforts"; "Welfare of Wage Earners"; "Child Labor"; "Bureaus for the Unemployed"; "White Slave Traffic"; "Social Study Clubs"; "Labor Unions"; "State Paternalism"; "Colonization and Immigration"; "Peace."

The convention asked for the creation of a special national committee on Social Reform. The following were appointed:

Rt. Rev. P. Muldoon, D. D., Rockford, Ill., chairman; Very Rev. J. Cavanaugh, C. S. C., Notre Dame, Ind.; Rev. Peter Dietz, Oberlin, O.; Charles I. Denechaud of New Orleans, La.; Prof. J. E. Hagerty, Columbus, O.

The Finance Committee made its report as follows:

Receipts:

Balance on hand.....	\$3,635.92
General fund	3,055.90
Associate Membership	1,572.33
	<hr/>
	\$8,264.15

Disbursement:

\$4,206.81

Balance\$4,057.34

The following officers were elected: National President, Edward Feeney, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Vice Presidents. J. B. Oelkers, Newark, N. J.; Thos. P. Flynn, Chicago; J. A. Coller, Shakopee, Minn.; J. J. Hynes, Buffalo, N. Y.; J. J. Regan, St. Paul, Minn.; J. W. Philp,

Dallas, Tex.; Secretary, Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.; Treasurer, C. H. Schulte, Detroit, Mich.; Marshall, J. W. West, Kansas City, Kansas; Color Bearer, Chief Jos. Horn Cloud, Pine Ridge, S. D. Executive Board: Archbishop Messmer; Bishop McFaul; Thos. H. Cannon, Chicago, Ill., chairman; N. Gonner, Dubuque, Ia.; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Daniel Duffy, Pottsville, Pa.; Chas. I. Denechaud, New Orleans, La.; John Whalen, New York; F. W. Heckenkamp, Jr., Quincy, Ill.; C. W. Wallace, Columbus, O.; H. V. Cunningham, Boston, Mass.

The closing feature of the convention was a great banquet given in Memorial Hall. Louisville, Ky., was selected as the next convention city.

ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. C.,

National Secretary.

Chicago, Ill.

THE FIRST AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONERS

(Concluded)

Mexico's first bishop, Fr. John Zumarraga, O. F. M., had desired to exchange the American for the Chinese mission field in 1545. Towards the close of the same century, two other Franciscan missionaries of the New World and one native of Mexico find their way to the Philippines and thence to Japan, where they are numbered among the protomartyrs of that country.

Fr. Peter Baptist and Brother Francis of St. Michael, both Spanish Franciscans, labored as missionaries among the Indians of Mexico before they came to the Philippines. In 1593, the governor of the Philippines sent Fr. Peter Baptist as ambassador to Taicosama (also called Hideyoshi), the Mikado of Japan, in order to solicit an understanding between that country and Spain. Among Fr. Peter Baptist's three Franciscan companions was the other former American missionary, Brother Francis. After the envoys had successfully established friendly relations between Spain and Japan, they remained in Japan as missionaries; and the following year five other Franciscans from the Philippines joined them.

Most writers, even the Catholic Encyclopedia, have grossly misrepresented the coming of these Franciscans to Japan and their missionary labors there. But in recent years, Fr. Lawrence Perez, O. F. M., has proved the charges made against them to be utterly false. His valuable articles, which have appeared in "Archivo Ibero-Americano" and "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum," give his findings in the archives of the old Franciscan Province of St. Gregory on the Philippines now in the Franciscan friary at Pastrana in Spain. Suffice it to say here that, far from remaining in Japan despite the Mikado's prohibition, the Franciscan envoys received from Taicosama a carte blanche with the one limitation that they were not to seek the conversion of the knights and other eminent men of the empire. Moreover, the restrictions of 1585, decreed by Pope Gregory XIII and prohibiting other religious than the Jesuits to labor as missionaries in Japan, had been lifted for the Franciscans of the Philippines the very next year (1586) by Pope Sixtus V.

In 1596 a Spanish ship ran aground at Uranda on the shores of Japan. Among the several religious on board was the Franciscan cleric, Fr. Philip of Jesus. He is the native of Mexico to whom we referred above. Born of a Spanish mother in Mexico, he entered the

Franciscan Order in that country while he was still very young. But, to the great sorrow of his relatives, he soon left the Order. One day, without the knowledge of his parents, he embarked for the Philippines. In the Philippines he was again received into the Franciscan Order; and after a period of probation during which he distinguished himself in the practice of penance, he pronounced his vows May 20, 1594.

Two years later, he boarded a vessel with the intention of returning to Mexico, where he hoped to relieve his good parents of the painful uncertainty which they still entertained regarding the fate of their son. But, as has been mentioned, the ship was cast upon the shores of Japan. According to Japanese custom, the goods on board a stranded vessel belonged to the natives. To keep them away the captain of the ship made use of a very foolish and imprudent threat. He declared that the missionaries prepared the way for the Spanish conquerors; after the missionaries had once established themselves in a country, he said, the Spanish fleet would come and subjugate that land. He tried to corroborate his statement by displaying a map of the world which indicated the numerous Spanish possessions. The fears of the Japanese were increased by the fact that the ship had artillery on board.

Taicosama was notified; and the avaricious bonzes, especially one Jaquin, who was the Mikado's physician, urged him to exterminate the friars whom they hated as dangerous rivals. Six Franciscans, among them the former American missionaries, Fr. Peter Baptist and Brother Francis, and also the newly arrived native of Mexico, Fr. Philip of Jesus; three native Jesuits, one a priest and the other two lay brothers; and seventeen lay persons, members of the Third Order of St. Francis—all these were brought together as captives and condemned to death. On February 5, 1597, these twenty-six heroes of the Cross, happy in their sufferings, were led to what is now called "Holy Hill" or Martyrs' Hill" near Nagasaki, and there crucified according to Japanese fashion; that is, they were bound to crosses and transfixed with lances. Fr. Philip of Jesus had been bound so tightly that he was in imminent danger of being strangled. The executioners, seeing this, despatched him at once. Thus he who had been the last to come to Japan was the first to receive the martyr's crown.

These martyrs are called the protomartyrs of Japan, though previous to their death there were a few other cases of martyrdom. In 1627 Pope Urban VIII beatified them; and when in 1629 a solemn

procession was held in Mexico in honor of the Japanese martyrs, the mother of Fr. Philip of Jesus was given a place of honor between the Archbishop and the Viceroy of Mexico. Pope Pius IX canonized these martyrs in 1862.¹

* * *

In the latter part of the past century, Fr. Maurice Sullivan, S. J., a native of Michigan, labored as a missionary in India and died in that country about 1899. Thus the writer has been informed by Fr. Laurence Kenny, S. J. To him also I am indebted for calling my attention to the fact that I had overlooked the story of St. Philip of Jesus, O. F. M., in the article which appeared in the January issue of this *Review*.

* * *

The first American Sister who went to China as a missionary was Sister Catherine Buschman, a member of Mother Seton's Congregation of Sisters of Charity; it was in 1896 that she left Maryland for China, and she died at Shanghai in 1926. Thus the Reverend Joseph B. Code has kindly advised the writer in answer to his request for information, supplementary to his sketch in the January issue of this *Review*. Father Code, who is an authority on the history of Mother Seton's Daughters, writes as follows:

"Sister Catherine Buschman, of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Mother Seton's Daughters of Emmitsburg, was the first American Sister of Charity, and indeed the first Sister of any American congregation, to leave for the Chinese mission fields, when she departed from St. Joseph's Mother House, Emmitsburg, Maryland, in March, 1896. She was followed in August, 1898, by Sister Joanna O'Connell, of the same community, and sister to the late Most Reverend Denis J. O'Connell, third Rector of the Catholic University of America and seventh Bishop of Richmond, Va. Sister Catherine died at Shanghai, December 10, 1926; whereas Sister Joanna died at Tien-tsin, in August, 1921.

"These same Sisters from Emmitsburg answered the appeal sent out by the Redemptorist Fathers for missionaries to Porto Rico, by sending ten of their best teaching Sisters to that field in 1905 to open the Colegio de la Immaculata Concepcion, in Mayaguez. The teaching staff has been added to from time to time, until now twenty-four Sisters have over a thousand girls under their care.

¹ Cf. Boehlen, O. F. M., Fr. H.: *Die Franziskaner in Japan einst und jetzt*, Treves, 1912; Stock, O. M. Cap., Fr. Norbert: *Legende der Heiligen und Seligen aus dem Dritten Orden*, Regensburg, 1886.

“Panama, too, may be considered in the foreign missionary field. In 1906, Sister Raphael Jones, of Emmitsburg, headed a band of these cornette Sisters of Charity to the city of Panama, where they took over the Hospital of St. Thomas.”

* * *

The first Sisters of Charity who went from the United States to China have been followed by missionary bands from numerous other American Sisterhoods, especially within the last few years. Among these are the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis who have their mother house in Springfield, Illinois.

It was in the fall of 1925 that the first band of these Sisters, comprising five members, left Springfield for the Franciscan vicariate of Tsinanfu in northern China. The northernmost part of this vicariate had previously been committed to the care of the Franciscans of the Chicago Province; and the Hospital Sisters were accompanied to China by the pioneers of this new American mission field, namely, two Fathers and two trained nurses, the latter secular Tertiaries. The party of nine arrived at Tsinanfu, October 12, 1925. Here at Tsinanfu (we include the suburb Hungkialou where the episcopal mission compound is really situated), the seat of the whole vicariate and the capital of the entire province of Shantung, the Sisters established St. Joseph's Hospital and Dispensary. The names of these pioneer Sisters are as follows: Sisters Wilhelma, Octavia, Engelberta, Evangelista and Euphrosyne.

As is evident from Sister Wilhelma's report for the first year² they did a great amount of splendid work. But in the summer of 1927, Sister Evangelista died, a victim of her tireless charity, while Sister Engelberta suffered a prolonged illness. Five new Sisters from Springfield came to their aid in the following autumn. They are Sisters Othmar, Clementia, Timothea, Bernolda and Albertine; and they arrived at Tsinanfu, October 15, 1927.

In the latter part of 1928, the Tsinanfu hospital secured the services of Dr. Anna Roggen, a distinguished lady surgeon of Germany. Before she came to Tsinanfu, she had two years practice in Brazil and a short training at St. John's Hospital, Springfield, Ill. But the sad news has just arrived that she recently succumbed to pleurisy and double pneumonia; she had been at Tsinanfu only for about five weeks.

² *Franciscan Herald*, December, 1927, pp. 538, 539, 540.

In November, 1928, seven young Chinese maidens from the Tsinanfu mission arrived at St. John's Hospital, Springfield, Illinois, in order to join the Hospital Sisters' community. After they have been introduced into the religious life and trained in nursing, they will return to their native country and increase the staff of St. Joseph's Hospital at Tsinanfu. And so the good work goes on and promises to increase with the passing years.³

On December 12, 1879, four Religious of the Sacred Heart, under the guidance of Reverend Mother Suzanne Boudreaux (a native of Louisiana) and of Reverend Mother Bauduy Garesché, left St. Louis, Missouri, to make a foundation of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Timaru, New Zealand.

Several years before, Reverend Father Chataigner, a Marist priest, while visiting the convents of the Sacred Heart in Louisiana, had spoken of Timaru as a new field of zeal for the Society to spread devotion to the Sacred Heart of our Lord. Bishop Redwood of Wellington, New Zealand, desired the foundation and wrote to the Superior General, Very Reverend Mother Adele Lehon, urging her to send some of her religious to this new field ready for the harvest. Permission was granted and word sent to Reverend Mother Boudreaux, then Superior of the Missouri Vicariate, "not only to make the foundation, but to go herself and install the foundresses." This word came on November 10, 1879; and on January 19, 1880, the religious reached New Zealand. Their arrival was a great event in the little town of Timaru, where the inhabitants had never before seen religious women; the parish school, being taught by a lay woman, was at once given over to the Religious of the Sacred Heart.

On February 1, the corner stone of the new Convent was laid by Bishop Redwood of Wellington, assisted by Monseigneur Moran, Bishop of Dunedin, and Reverend Fathers Chataigner, Tauvel and Goutenoire. On October 3, the new Convent was finished and the boarding and day school opened, while the work in the parish was continued.

The cross had put its seal on the work, as Reverend Mother Boudreaux was taken very ill on February 6, and died a week later. She was the first to be buried in the little cemetery that she had selected and planned for the Community. Her work on earth was finished, but her interest in this mission had increased.

³ Cf. *Franciscan Herald*, Vol. XIII, pp. 480, 493; XIV, 575; XV, 479, 528, 538-540; XVI, 96, 492, 527; XVII, 12.

In 1882 a boarding school was opened at Sidney, in 1888 one at Melbourne; and at present, besides at Timaru, there are Convents of the Sacred Heart at Auckland and Brisbane, while two more have been opened in Sidney—making in all eight Academies; there are three parish schools conducted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart and a Convent near the University of Sidney, where the religious and young women follow the university courses and attend special classes in philosophy and doctrine given at the Convent.

Quincy College, Quincy.

REV. MARIAN HABIG, O. F. M.

GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

First Catholic School in New Orleans, 1800.—The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* is the vehicle in which are appearing in print many early documents that are now housed in the State Historical Museum at New Orleans under the charge of Henry P. Dart, archivist of the Louisiana Historical Society. Provision, both physical and financial, has been made for the proper preservation and exploiting of these archives for the benefit of historical students through the beneficence of Mr. Ratcliffe Irby. The story of the Louisiana archives is told by Grace King in the October, 1928 issue of the *North Carolina Historical Review*. Among other documents that are printed in the *Louisiana Quarterly* for April 1928, is a petition to "open a house of education" in New Orleans in 1800, Louisiana being at that time under a Spanish governor. The petitioner was one Don Luis Francisco Lefort, "a native of France" as Mr. Dart tells us in his introduction, who avers that in order to exercise his profession in this Spanish colony, he "has to prove that he is a vassal of His Majesty and that he professes the Catholic religion." Mr. Dart says: "This document is the first of its character found in our records." In giving his reasons for asking permission to open his school the petitioner says: "It seems that up to now [1800] this city had no other schools than those for first letters and that the opportunities are still lacking to give a more perfect education to the young people." He proposes to teach languages, mathematics, and other branches. Lefort's school seems to have been the first, therefore, to impart secondary education in New Orleans. The Director of the Royal Schools, who examined Lefort, reported that he had "been employed in an academy or college accredited to Baltimore, whose director or principal is a clergyman much esteemed by the Bishop Senor O. Carol" [sic]. As Bishop Carroll commissioned the Sulpicians under Father Nagot in 1797 to open a seminary, St. Mary's, and as "the lack of a sufficient number of ecclesiastical students forced the Sulpicians to receive lay students also" (Cath. Encycl. XIII, 698), we may infer that Lefort had been a lay instructor in St. Mary's prior to his going to New Orleans.

Naming of the Mississippi.—In the latest issue of *Chronicles of Oklahoma* for December, 1928, is a brief summary of the various names given to the Mississippi River, first by the Indians and later

by the early French and Spanish explorers. The word "Mississippi" is generally accepted to be of Indian origin and to mean "Father of Waters." Muriel H. Wright, the author of the article, says that there is a story among the Choctaws, that when their ancestors reached the great river in their wanderings, their wise prophets called it "Misha sipokni," which means "beyond age" or "most ancient" (of rivers). Du Pratz, one of the early French writers, attempted to explain the name for the river given him by the Gulf Coast Indians, namely, "Mechasipi," as meaning "ancient father of waters." "The great river was called 'Mississippi' by the Indians of the Northwest when that region was first visited by La Salle and Marquette in the seventeenth century. The name Mississippi, in the language of the Chippewa, is derived from the two words 'missi,' meaning 'large,' and 'sippi,' meaning 'flowing water.'" Other names were given to the great river: Rio del Espiritu Santo (River of the Holy Ghost), Rio Grande del Florida or simply Rio Grande, La Palisade (on account of the large cottonwood trees that grew along its lower channel), the Colbert (in honor of Louis XIV.'s minister), finally Saint Louis (in honor of the French King.) "But the Indian name, Mississippi, given the great river in the dim ages of the past, remained for us to-day."

George Rogers Clark in the Limelight.—The career of General Clark is being studied with intensiveness and is the subject of some debate at the hands of certain writers to-day. The United States Catalog of books in print January 1, 1928 (N. Y., 1928), a volume of portentous size that has just appeared, lists thirteen books treating of Clark. Mr. M. M. Quaife has edited the original narratives with an introduction and notes. T. Bodley is the latest historian to treat of "George Rogers Clark, his Life and Public Services." At the Ninth Annual Indiana History Conference in December, 1927, Clark's achievements became the subject of papers by Mrs. M. A. Doran, William Fortune, M. M. Quaife, and R. F. Lockbridge. Mr. Quaife's paper, entitled "Detroit and George Rogers Clark," was criticised somewhat incisively by Mr. Lockbridge. Mr. Temple put the historians on their mettle when he wrote in a little footnote: "We have had a number of excellent investigators of the source materials of western history who did not write, and many more excellent writers who did not investigate." Mr. Quaife does both and proceeds to criticise Bodley. "Clark's War," as Bodley calls it, "with much greater propriety might be called Detroit's war," says Quaife; "without Clark the war in the West might have pursued a different

course, without Detroit there would have been none. To conquer Detroit was Clark's dream; its failure embittered his soul and blasted untimely his career." Later on in his paper he says that the notion that Clark ever conquered the Northwest is erroneous; "a proper statement of the matter would be that Clark invaded the Northwest and conquered the lower portion of it." To these statements Mr. Lockbridge takes vigorous exception; in fact, he confesses that he "read the excerpts quoted in this morning's *Star* with a great deal of patriotic ire." He says "the kindest thing that can be said of such a perversion of actual history is that it is a purely local view, a provincial view, a Detroit view—not an American view." On the contrary, Lockbridge claims: "Detroit was conquered by Clark far more completely than the city of Athens was conquered by Xerxes." For the armed flotilla that Henry Hamilton brought down the Wabash to Indiana in the winter of 1778 was "everlastingly overwhelmed and conquered by George Rogers Clark at Vincennes." Hamilton, coming from Detroit, planned to "crush Clark at Kaskaskia, sweep Kentucky, take Pittsburgh and drive in the Allegheny border." Clark, by his decisive victory at Vincennes not only ruined the whole plan, but finally lodged Hamilton in irons in a Virginia dungeon. "Clark's victory at Vincennes ended England's major offensive from the West. It broke up that great organized Indian menace that only Hamilton could consummate. It saved Kentucky. It saved Pittsburgh. It saved the Allegheny border from devastation and it secured unquestioned possession of the Ohio valley, the greater part of the Wabash valley and the eastern valley of the Mississippi. It was one of the most decisive battles of the Revolution—fully comparable to Saratoga and Yorktown. . . . (Clark's) conquest of the Old Northwest was complete, notwithstanding Detroit."

Location of the Chicago Portage.—The latest volume to be issued by the Chicago Historical Society in its long-suspended series of "Collections" is entitled: "The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century, by Robert Knight and Lucius H. Zeuch" (Chicago, 1928). The volume deserves a whole article, but its salient points may be mentioned here. The frontispiece showing a placid stream dividing at a wooded spot and entitled: "Portage Creek As It Is To-Day," may well thrill the historical student; for we read: "Joliet and Father Marquette turned from the Desplaines at this point and entered Portage Creek. Here began the history of Chicago." In the introduction the authors give the significant results

of an inquiry which, we are told, began in 1865 with the formation of the Chicago Historical Society,—as to the true location of the portage between the Chicago and the Desplaines rivers. “We reached the conclusion,” they write, “that the age-old mystery had been cleared up and that the route taken by Joliet and Marquette, the first persons to traverse this region, was by way of the Desplaines River, Mud Lake, and the Chicago River, and that this route, through what is now the city of Chicago was the true Chicago Portage used by the later missionaries, explorers, and fur traders.” The shores of the former Mud Lake were roughly: “Kedzie avenue on the east, Harlem avenue on the west, Archer avenue on the south, and a line parallel to and about a half mile south of Ogden avenue on the north. . . . The west end of Mud Lake connected with the Desplaines through a little creek known as ‘Portage Creek.’ The junction of this creek with the Desplaines was the ‘west end of the Portage’ ”—and here, as we have said, began the history of Chicago.

The volume is richly illustrated with views and maps. The views are from photographs taken by Mr. Knight and show the sites of Mud Lake, Lawton’s old trading house, old Portage road, Stony ford; also the spot “where Joliet and Father Marquette left Mud Lake and began their historic portage of half a league to the Chicago River.” Every early map of importance for the subject is reproduced. There is a bibliography covering seven pages.

The Newberry Library,
Chicago.

WM. STETSON MERRILL.

NECROLOGY

THE REVEREND JOSEPH MCMAHON

By the death of the Reverend Joseph McMahon of Minooka, Ill., Chicago clergy and laity mourned the passing of the oldest priest in the archdiocese of Chicago. Father McMahon, who died January 5, after a few days illness with pneumonia, was pastor of St. Mary's church, Minooka, for 36 years. His funeral, held from the parish church where he had served so long, was attended by a large number of priests of the archdiocese led by the Rt. Rev. B. J. Sheil, D.D., auxiliary bishop of Chicago. Despite the near-zero weather large crowds bore tribute of respect to the veteran pastor.

Father McMahon was born in Castlebar, County Mayo, Ireland, February 26, 1843. He received his early education at St. Jarlath's college, Tuam. At the age of 20 he came to Chicago and entered St. Mary of the Lake's Seminary, then located at Wabash and Lake streets. He was ordained in the Cathedral of the Holy Name May 8, 1868, by the Rt. Rev. Joseph Duggan, third Bishop of Chicago. His first appointment was as curate at the Cathedral, where he remained until 1872. Later he served in Aurora and at Rockford. In 1892 he was appointed to St. Mary's, Minooka, where his pastorate was marked by progress of a material and spiritual nature. In 1920, in recognition of his faithful service he was made an irremovable rector. Two events of momentous occasion were the celebration of his silver and golden jubilees in the priesthood. A man of remarkable vitality, Father McMahon served until his last illness in an active capacity in the administration of his duties as pastor.

THE REVEREND J. E. LYNCH

Something of a missionary aspect characterized the work of the Rev. John Edward Lynch, pastor of St. Peter's church, Antioch, Ill., who died suddenly January 19, since Father Lynch's parish was largely made up of summer vacationists in the lake region of northern Illinois. Diocesan clergy led by the Rt. Rev. B. J. Sheil, D.D., auxiliary bishop of Chicago, attended the funeral services held from St. Peter's church where hundreds gathered to pay him a last tribute.

Father Lynch was the son of the late Margaret and James Lynch. He was educated at St. Viator College, Bourbonnais, and St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. He was ordained to the priesthood by the late Archbishop Quigley at Holy Name Cathedral 21 years ago.

THE REVEREND JOHN P. SUERTH

A pioneer Chicago priest, the Rev. John P. Suerth, former pastor for 30 years of St. Francis de Sales church, died January 27 at Mercy Hospital following a short illness. Born within the boundaries of St. Boniface parish, Chicago, Father Suerth received his elementary education at St. Boniface school and after graduating from St. Ignatius College he completed his philosophical and theological studies at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. He was ordained to the priesthood by the late Archbishop Feehan December 9, 1893, and celebrated his first Solemn Mass in St. Boniface church, the first priest to be ordained from that parish. His zeal and activity in behalf of the upbuilding of St. Francis de Sales parish was marked and at his resignation several years ago he had won the esteem of the entire community.

SISTER MARY LUCETTA

Members of the community of the Sisters of Mercy mourned the death on January 30 of Sister Mary Lucetta, a teacher in St. Ethelreda school, and other schools taught by the Mercy order.

Sister Lucetta who was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Owen Cawley, had been unusually successful in her teaching and greatly beloved by her pupils for her beautiful character and great piety. Funeral services were held from St. Ethelreda church.

BROTHER DOMNAN, F. S. C.

Brother Domnan, oldest Christian Brother in the United States in point of service and for many years connected with St. Patrick's Commercial Academy, 122 S. Desplaines street, died February 21 at Alexian Brothers Hospital, Chicago. Brother Domnan had spent seventy-two years in teaching. He was born in Kamouraska, Can., 89 years ago and was educated in Montreal. In 1856 he entered the order of Christian Brothers at Montreal. His first teaching experience was gained there and during the Civil War he was sent to New Orleans and later to Pass Christian, Miss. Coming to St. Patrick's, Chicago, in 1874, he began an almost unbroken record of service, interrupted only by a two-year period in Memphis, Tenn., in 1909-11. November 1, 1927, he celebrated 70 years in the order of Christian Brothers.

Prominent Chicago clergy who had been his "boys" assisted in the funeral services held from St. Patrick's church, Chicago. Burial was in Calvary cemetery.

REVEREND LOUIS KELLINGER, S. J.

The Rev. Louis Kellinger, S. J., well known member of the Jesuit order, first pastor of St. Ignatius Church and a former teacher in Loyola University, died February 25. At his funeral, held from St. Ignatius Church, the simple funeral services of the Jesuit order were held. The Rev. Robert M. Kelley, S. J., president of Loyola University, was celebrant of the Mass.

Father Kellinger was a native of Newport, Ky., and prepared himself for a law career at St. Xavier College, Cincinnati. Later he entered upon his studies for the priesthood and was ordained by the late Cardinal Gibbons. At various times he served as rector of Detroit University and on the faculties of Creighton and Loyola universities, besides the pastorates of the Gesu Church, Milwaukee, and St. Ignatius Church. Burial was in All Saints cemetery.

THE VERY REVEREND HERMAN A. GREVE

The Very Rev. Herman A. Greve, said to be the oldest priest in point of service in the Peoria diocese, died suddenly at St. Francis hospital, Peoria. Funeral services were held from St. Joseph's Church, where he had served as pastor for 30 years. Father Greve suffered a stroke of paralysis while he was preparing to celebrate an early Mass. Father Greve was born in Emerich, Germany, Nov. 19, 1849, and was ordained to the priesthood in Chicago in 1875. His early assignments were in Moline and Peoria. He came to Peoria in 1898 as the permanent pastor of St. Joseph's Church. As a tribute to his untiring work the title of dean was conferred upon Father Greve. Burial was in St. Margaret's cemetery, Davenport, Ia.

THE REVEREND H. H. WYMAN, C. S. P.

Widespread sorrow was caused by the death of the Rev. Henry Harrison Wyman, C. S. P., venerable missionary, who died March 6 at the Alexian Brothers hospital, Chicago.

Father Wyman had a distinguished career. He was born March 6, 1849, in Westminster, Mass., and was a graduate of Brown University, Providence, R. I., where his studies led him to inquire into the claims of the Catholic Church. A year after his reception into the church he entered the Paulist novitiate. In 1876 he was ordained by the Rt. Rev. M. A. Corrigan, D. D., then bishop of Newark, N. J. He had an enviable record on the mission band, giving missions in many

parts of the country. He was one of the founders of the Paulist House in San Francisco, and later served at St. Mary's, Chicago, and St. Paul the Apostle, New York City.

He was noted as a writer and much time in his later years was spent with his pen.

THE REV. C. P. O'NEIL

The funeral of the Rev. C. P. O'Neil, rector of Sacred Heart Church, Rock Island, was held January 28 at the parish church. Four bishops were in attendance—the Rt. Rev. J. F. Noll, D.D., of Fort Wayne, Ind., a classmate of Father O'Neil; the Rt. Rev. T. W. Drumm, D.D., of Des Moines; the Rt. Rev. T. F. Lillis of Kansas City, and the Rt. Rev. Henry P. Rohlman, D.D., of Davenport.

SISTER ST. BERNARD

Sister St. Bernard (Elizabeth Woods), one of the oldest members of the community of the Religious Hospitalers of St. Joseph, in charge of St. Bernard's hospital, died January 23. Funeral services were held from St. Bernard's hospital chapel.

Sister St. Bernard was born in Galena, Ill., in 1866. Coming to Chicago she engaged in teaching, and later, after the establishment of St. Bernard's hospital she transferred her life's work to the care of the sick. Upon the establishment of the School for Nurses by St. Bernard's hospital, Sister was named superintendent. She gave 19 years of service to the hospital, characterized by faithfulness and zeal.

Chicago.

GERTRUDE A. KRAY.

CHRONICLE

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CAPTURE OF VINCENNES

The common opinion among men is that governments are ungrateful. Although experience seems to be the best teacher for men as individuals, this same experience is unable to make a lasting impression on these same men when they are grouped together as a government. The United States have proved to be no exception. One hundred and fifty years elapsed before our national government took official cognizance of the great work of George Rogers Clark, Father Pierre Gibault, and Francois Vigo. Theirs were deeds of Revolutionary War fame. They died unrequited, unable to procure the bare necessities of life.

George Rogers Clark was the military genius of the expedition for the reduction of the British post in the old Northwest Territory, Father Pierre was the most influential man in the territory and held complete sway over the inhabitants of the old French posts, and Francois Vigo, the man who financed the expedition to a great extent, was a wealthy merchant trading between Vincennes and St. Louis and the other posts. To these three men is due the capture of the vast territory which now comprises Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that portion of Minnesota which lies east of the Mississippi river. With the capture of Vincennes by Clark's troops on February 25, 1779, the British hold on all this great region was broken and the land passed to the State of Virginia (from whom Clark held his commission) and through Virginia, after the close of the struggle for independence, to the United States. But for the efforts of the three men mentioned above, this wonderfully fertile inland empire might still be in the hands of Great Britain. And that being the case, how far would the western development of the United States have progressed? As a tribute to the valor of Clark, Gibault and Vigo, and also to the brave little band which drove on through flooded and frozen lands, a memorial to the memory of these men and their deeds is to be erected at Vincennes by the federal government.

The celebration of the sesquicentenary fete was ushered in at five o'clock in the afternoon on February 24th last at the old Catholic Cathedral. Commemorations of the event were also made in practically every other church. That at the Cathedral, however, is

worthy of special mention because of its historical connection. The present Cathedral is the third church erected by the St. Francis Xavier congregation. When the parish was founded by the Jesuits at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a log church was erected. It was in this little log church that Colonel Clark and Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton met in conference at about five o'clock in the evening of February 24, 1779. As a result of the parley, Hamilton signed the articles of capitulation whereby he agreed to surrender the fort at ten o'clock on the following morning. It was in commemoration of the outcome of this meeting that the special service of thanksgiving was held. At eighty thirty o'clock on the following morning the Cathedral was the scene of a Solemn High Mass of thanksgiving. Throughout Sunday the advance rush of visitors was shown through the historic Cathedral and the old library of the former bishops of Vincennes.

The official work of erecting this memorial had its beginning in Vincennes on February 25, 1929, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the capture of Fort Sackville (at Vincennes) from the British by Clark. The various events of the day were all calculated to honor the heroes of the old Northwest. At seven o'clock on the morning of February 25th, the George Rogers Clark commemorative stamps were placed on sale at the post office in Vincennes. On this day they were sold only in Vincennes, being released for sale in other cities on the following day. The picture which the stamp bears is a reproduction of Frederick Yohn's painting of the Capture of Ft. Sackville, depicting the surrender of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton to Colonel Clark. The original by Yohn was on display in the windows of the Chamber of Commerce during the days of the celebration.

The dedication of the site of the future memorial was preceded by the reception of the Governor of Indiana, His Excellency, Harry G. Leslie, and his party, and the members of the Indiana Legislature, at the Union Depot. They were escorted to the grounds on which the future memorial will be built. The dedicatory services at the site of the memorial were very brief. They began with an invocation by the Very Reverend James M. Gregoire, pastor of the old Catholic Cathedral and the thirty-fourth successor of the Reverend Pierre Gibault. Governor Leslie followed with a short but appropriate dedicatory speech. The Very Reverend James Gregoire then blessed the ground. It had been planned to wreck a large elevator which encumbered the site. President Coolidge set off the discharge over a special

leased wire from Washington, D. C., at 12:30 p. m. Failing to wreck the giant tower, the building was set aflame and soon reduced to a heap of ashes and twisted metal.

The official service of thanksgiving was held immediately after this in the Old Cathedral. The Cathedral itself is one hundred and three years old. The parish, however, goes back to the time of the foundation of Vincennes in 1702. It is the oldest institution within the present boundaries of Indiana. Since this congregation is the only existing institution which acts as a connecting link between the events of one hundred and fifty years ago and those of the present day, no more fitting place could have been chosen wherein to render to God the thanks which are due Him for the acquisition of the great states which passed into the possession of the United States with the capture of Vincennes. The ceremony itself was of short duration. It consisted of a short oration by Monsignor Francis H. Gavisk, Vicar General of the Diocese of Indianapolis and a member of the Indiana Clark Memorial Commission, the singing of a solemn Te Deum by the assemblage and the reading of Archbishop Carroll's prayer for the Church and civil authorities by Msgr. Gavisk. Seated in the sanctuary were some fifty priests with Msgr. Gavisk. On a dais to the right of the altar were seated Governor Leslie, Lieutenant-Governor Bush, Speaker Knapp of the Indiana House of Representatives, Clement Richards, president of the Indiana Clark Memorial Commission, Senator William H. Hill of Vincennes, Chief Justice Martin of the Indiana Supreme Court, and Mayor Claude Gregg of Vincennes.

Following the service, a luncheon was given at the Gibault Auditorium in honor of Governor Leslie. Msgr. Gavisk presided. Immediately following the luncheon, despite the steady drizzle, hundreds of guests visited the Old Cathedral, the Old Cathedral library, the William Henry Harrison Home, and Indiana's first legislative hall.

At the commemorative service at the Coliseum in the afternoon, the principal speakers were Governor Leslie and Dr. James Alton James, professor of American History and Dean of the Graduate School of Northwestern University. Governor Leslie stressed the propriety of such a celebration in honor of Clark and his associates and the fittingness of erecting a memorial to show the nation's appreciation of their valorous deeds. Dr. James chose as his subject, "The Influence of George Gogers Clark in the Making of the Nation." In a speech which was thorough and detailed, the great effects which followed Clark's efforts was clearly brought out and their influence on national development was plainly set forth.

After the Commemoration meeting the Coliseum was the scene of a concert given by the Purdue University Military Band.

The state dinner given by the Indiana Clark Memorial Commission at the Gibault Auditorium was attended by Governor Leslie and his party, as well as all official visitors at the celebration.

The program for the day was brought to a fitting close by a pageant staged at the Coliseum at eight o'clock in the evening. The cast of about three hundred and fifty persons, all residents of Vincennes, was directed by Thomas Woods Stevens, the author of the pageant. Three great epochs in Clark's conquest of the Northwest were represented: Clark before Governor Patrick Henry and his Virginia Council pleading for munitions and men to reduce the western British posts; his surprise and seizure of Kaskaskia, Illinois, on the night of July 4, 1778; and the attack on Vincennes on February 24, 1779, and the surrender of the fort by the British governor on the day following.

St. Meinrad Seminary, Indiana.

VICTOR L. GOOSENS.

NOTES

Mr. and Mrs. William Harold Lewis of Chicago have made a notable gift to the cause of Catholic education in Chicago by their gift of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars with which to begin the erection of the Liberal Arts hall of Rosary College, River Forest. The gift is made in memory of their mothers, Mrs. Ellen Theresa Lewis and Mrs. Ella Green.

His Eminence Cardinal Mundelein conferred Orders on a large number of seminarians in St. Mary of the Lake chapel March 10. The seminarians who received Orders constituted the largest group in the history of the archdiocese who have received Orders at one ordination.

Bishop James A. Griffin, D. D., bishop of Springfield, in Illinois, has announced a Junior College to be established in Springfield under the fostering care of the Ursuline Sisters. The Ursuline Sisterhood has purchased property on North Fifth street adjoining the Dominican convent and there in September will open a junior college which will provide instruction equivalent to that given during the freshman and sophomore years in standard colleges of four-year courses.

Lewis Memorial Maternity Hospital, formerly the Lakota hotel at 30th and Michigan, Chicago, is the gift of Francis J. Lewis, K. S. G., to his Eminence Cardinal Mundelein to be used as a Maternity Hospital where hospital service will be given to Catholic mothers at a nominal charge. Announcement of the gift was made by Cardinal Mundelein at the quarterly conference of the clergy of the archdiocese of Chicago, March 14.

A CORRECTION

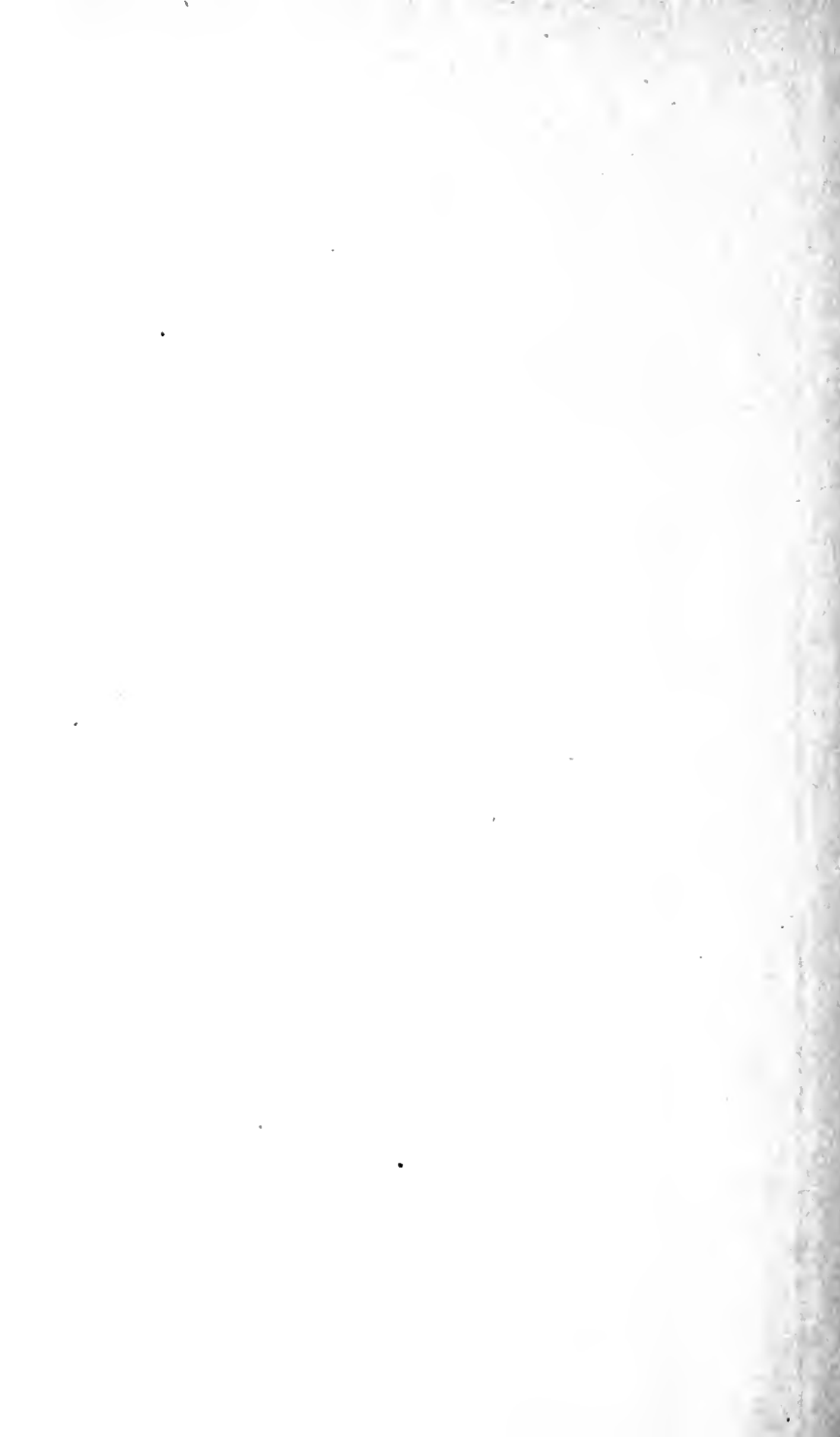
In the January issue the name of Sister Reginald was referred to as a member of the Mercy Order. This was incorrect. Sister Reginald is a member of the Dominican community.

In the same issue, through oversight, the erection of the new St. Patrick's Academy at Desplaines was omitted from the article "A Retrospect of events in Illinois for 1928." This institution is in charge of the Sisters of Mercy of St. Patrick's Academy, Washington and Oakley boulevards, Chicago. The building cost approximately \$600,000 and its doors were opened in September as a boarding and day school for little girls and young ladies.

Another event of which the Mercy community can feel proud was the celebration of the golden jubilee March 19, 1928, of Sister Mary Xavier McKee, who for more than 50 years has given unstintedly her best service in the parochial schools of Chicago.

Chicago.

GERTRUDE A. KRAY.



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